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In: New West Indian Guide/ Nieuwe West-Indische Gids 59 (1985), no: 1/2, Leiden, 1-26

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## THE IMPACT OF PANAMA MONEY IN BARBADOS IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

In March of 1911, the planter-dominated Barbados House of Assembly passed an act supporting the establishment of large, central sugar-grinding factories on the island, thereby acknowledging that modernization finally was necessary in Barbados's antiquated sugar industry. Important changes soon followed. By 1920 central grinding factories had become noticeably dominant on Barbados, whose cane, up until that time, had been processed mainly at small, planter-owned windmills. Barbadian planters had long been aware of the economic advantages of large sugar factories to Trinidad and British Guiana. Furthermore, they had monitored closely the evolution of giant American sugar cane estates in the Greater Antilles. Yet these same Barbadian planters had heretofore been reluctant to reorient methods of producing sugar on their own island because of the high overhead expense and the susceptibility of such reorientation to outside financial domination.

These striking changes in the Barbadian sugar cane industry of the early twentieth century were precipitated by the exodus of thousands from the local plantation labor force, starting in 1904, to work on the Panama Canal. In urging passage of the Assembly's central sugar milling act, assemblyman Stanley Robinson, a leading planter of Barbados's St. George parish, pointed out why the bill now was necessary: "Two things have enabled planters up to the present time to continue the obsolete and wasteful muscovado process, namely, cheap labour, and fairly good prices for molasses. But things have changed very much within the last few years. Labour is no longer cheap or efficient" (HA, March 7, 1911: 75). Robinson did not need to elaborate upon what

"things" had changed very much. Every Barbadian parish, settlement, and estate had lost workers to the Panama Canal. By early 1911, probably 40,000 black Barbadians – nearly one-quarter of the island's entire population – already had gone to the Canal Zone.

The emigration to Panama had other far-reaching effects on Barbados. In helping to undermine the island's old-fashioned sugar cane industry, black Barbadian migration also indirectly altered planter-worker relationships on the home island. The millions of dollars remitted from the Canal Zone, moreover, affixed monetary prices to local foodstuffs and thereby tended to dissolve preexisting food-sharing relationships among Barbadian blacks. Mutual aid societies were similarly transformed. A decline in planter paternalism was accompanied by heightened class consciousness and incipient political activity by black Barbadians. In a broad sense, the Barbadian exodus to Panama was a creative, grassroots catalyst of social change, not simply a pathetic drift of labour to capital.

The principal focus of this article is on the "Panama Money" that Barbadians sent and brought home from the Canal Zone in the early twentieth century. For reasons discussed below, the precise total of the remitted money can only be estimated, but its impact on Barbados was important and widespread. Furthermore, few Barbadians today – two generations later – have not heard from their parents and grandparents about the Barbadian men and women who came back from Central America where "in times gone by 'twus money on the apple trees in Panama" (Lamming 1953: 85). In a regional sense, an assessment of Panama Money's impacts on Barbados provides a point of entry into a current debate about the actual importance of remittances that have traditionally been sent home by migrating men and women to small West Indian societies. And the importance of remittances, of course, provides an indirect measure of what human migration really means in these same societies.<sup>1</sup>

#### REMITTANCES IN THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING CARIBBEAN

Two decades ago, Manners (1965) emphasized the wider, international "social field" in which Caribbean island cultures were imbedded. He offered as evidence the recorded islandwide sums of postal remittances sent from abroad to individuals in Puerto Rico and also to persons in several of the English-speaking islands. It has since become routine for Caribbeanists – especially those concerned with migration – to seek

similar postal remittance data. And postal authorities on few of the English-speaking islands of the Caribbean have so far escaped requests from North American social scientists for similar data. Among others, Hill (1977) on Carriacou, Myers (1976) on Dominica, Philpott (1973) on Montserrat, Richardson (1983) on St. Kitts-Nevis, and Tobias (1975) on Grenada have accumulated and arrayed similar postal data.<sup>2</sup>

The importance of remittances sent home by friends and kinsmen who have traveled away manifests itself in many ways in every Caribbean community. The postman's arrival in a West Indian village is a keenly anticipated event, and the elderly occasionally grumble if sons or daughters who have gone away send back an "empty letter" (one without money in it). Sometimes those abroad send cash to neighbors or friends with instructions to pass it on to someone else in order to decoy local postal authorities who some suspect of stealing money from envelopes. On every island, one hears tales of unexpected cash windfalls received through the mail from distant relatives.

Remittances also are historically important in the region, providing continuity between the present and the past. In the earliest days after emancipation, inter-island migrants personally carried money back home to those who had stayed behind (Richardson 1983: 103). But as postal facilities became more reliable, West Indians traveling to neighboring islands began to send some of their earnings home through the mail. Between 1868 and 1875, for example, a total of 5,654 money orders totaling nearly \$48,000 were sent from British Guiana to Barbados, presumably by Barbadian emigrants to the South American colony because the postal orders were "paid principally to persons of the labouring class . . ." (OG, "Report of Commission on Poor Relief," March 16, 1878). Since the early part of the twentieth century and the Panama Canal, black West Indians from the Commonwealth Caribbean have traveled to a series of destinations – Cuba, the Dominican Republic, the Netherlands Antilles, the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, and other places – and have sent home the millions of dollars and pounds that have become so important in local insular economies.

But actually how important? Caribbeanists recently have begun to venture beyond the simple collection and tabulation of remittance data in order to attempt to trace the money's eventual disposition and impact after it arrives. This line of research seems promising in an interdisciplinary sense: it continues to deal with traditional anthropological themes at the household level such as the use of remittances for general expenses, housebuilding, or purchasing fishing vessels; at the

same time, it explores questions about development, investment, multiplier effects, and similar issues often considered the province of economists.

A recent paper by Rubenstein (1983) asserts that remittances sent from abroad are really of minimal "developmental" significance in the English-speaking Caribbean. After reviewing some of the literature dealing with remittances in the region, he summarizes that:

Most remitted funds are neither placed in savings nor invested in productive enterprises, but simply used to secure the basic necessities of life ... (or) ... spent on inferior, price-inflated parcels of land ... (or) ... used to buy imported food, clothing, household furnishings, and luxury items or to finance chain migration (which) result(s) in reverse cash flows ... (p.299).

Rubenstein then expands his discussion of remittances to encompass Caribbean migration in general. He concludes that "the real beneficiaries of (Caribbean) migration lie outside the West Indies in the industrial-capitalist societies of the already developed world" (p. 304). Furthermore, he implores those scholars concerned with Caribbean migration and its associated remittances to lift their eyes from "particularistic" events in the region itself in order to ascertain "the generation, perpetuation (and) structural implications of labor flows at the macro-level ..." (p. 299).

Others (Palmer 1979: 94; Watson 1982) also have asserted, as Rubenstein has done, that Caribbean migration trajectories – and, by extension, the remittances resulting from them – are externally controlled and manipulated. Human movements from and within the Caribbean region, they argue, are simply local expressions of long-standing economic decisions made in European and North American metropolises. These dependency-oriented, "macrolevel" perspectives, of course, provide useful antidotes for the few studies that still limit themselves to local, particular data and take little notice of external influences on Caribbean societies.

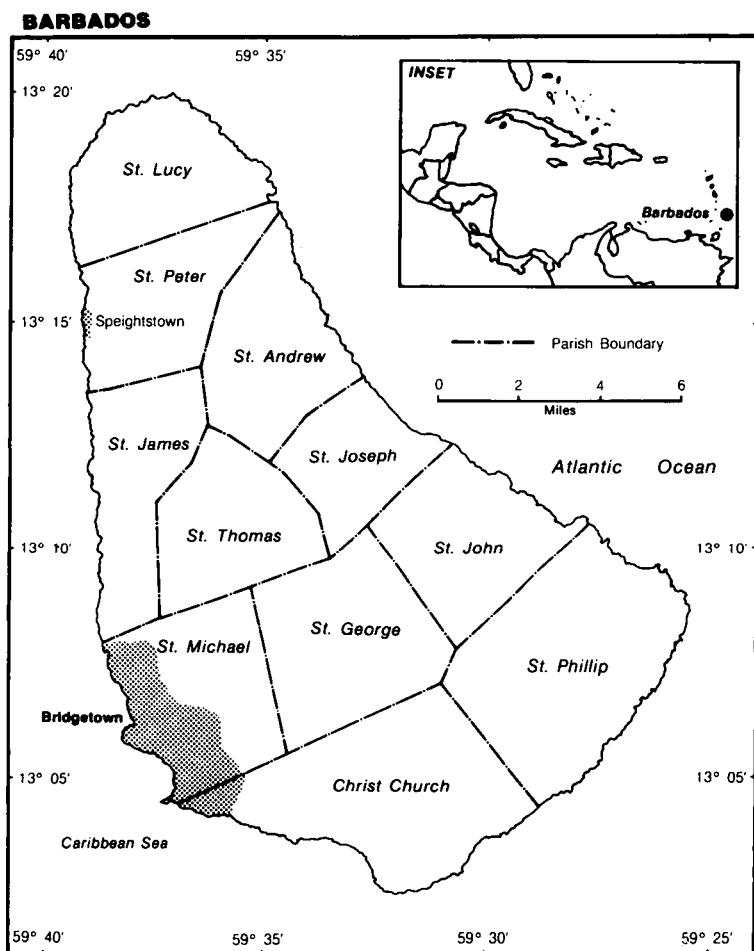
On the other hand, macrolevel enthusiasts, in their zeal to seek external, structural answers to nearly all local problems, often ignore, for example, that Caribbean migrations have represented local initiative and creativity as often as they have represented the pushes and pulls generated by unseen economic forces. And too often the seductive generalizations of "theoretically" oriented macro-analysts provide pat answers or rationalizations that overshadow careful, painstaking scholarship that deals with a given island or a single migration event, which is therefore dismissed as "particularistic".

The remainder of the present paper deals with the emigration from Barbados to the Canal Zone with emphasis upon the remittances that came back to Barbados prior to 1920. The "particularistic" evidence and data presented here are intended to point out that, contrary to the assertions of Rubenstein and other so-called migration "structuralists"<sup>3</sup> of the Caribbean, Panama Money had momentous effects on Barbados. An historical perspective is particularly helpful here in assessing the impacts of migrations and remittances because it allows for interpretations of the outcomes and effects of money sent home. In the case of Panama Money in Barbados, the changes and impacts were important and far-reaching.

#### BARBADIAN MIGRATION TO THE PANAMA CANAL

As the twentieth century opened, an externally-imposed economic depression had indeed worsened the already impoverished living conditions for black Barbadians. Economic competition, mainly in the previous two decades, from French and German sugar beet producers had lowered sugar prices throughout the British Caribbean, causing some sugar factories to close, numerous estates to fail financially, and widespread wage cuts (Beachey 1957). By all accounts, Barbados – relying solely upon sugar and its byproducts – had suffered the most of all the islands. In Barbados's rural sugar cane estates, for example, the average working man's wages had in 1900 been lowered from ten to eight pence per day (Barbados *Blue Book* 1901: Y1).

Two-thirds of Barbados's 120,000 blacks resided in the rural plantation "tenantry" settlements, renting houseplots and subsistence gardens from estate owners.<sup>4</sup> White planters controlled the great majority of the land, and a quasi-feudal socioeconomic system binding rural black Barbadians to white planters in 1900 had been in force since emancipation (Mintz 1979). Barbadian planters defended the tenantry system by emphasizing the benign, paternal owner-worker relationships marked by grazing rights for workers' small stock and occasional gifts or food on holidays for dependable estate workers and their families. Most black estate workers seem to have adopted a respectful, obedient attitude toward plantation owners. This attitude was more a coping function to deal with typically harsh conditions at home than it was an indication of inherent servility or satisfaction; when some of these same "good" Barbadian workers traveled to British Guiana for seasonal cane harvests, they often were identified as troublemakers (RC 1897, App. C, Vol. 1: 79).



1. Barbados and Its Parishes.

Barbadian ecological characteristics worsened the depression's effects on the black estate residents. Unlike in the Windwards, Trinidad, or Jamaica, black workers of Barbados had no hilly, inferior, non-plantation lands to which they had informal access for livestock grazing, cultivation, firewood gathering, or free village development (RC 1897, App. C, Vol. 2, Part III, "Barbados": 267-9). If drought desiccated the tenantry provision grounds – a hazard that occurred with grim frequency – black Barbadians had to compensate for local subsistence

shortfalls by purchasing imported food with plantation wages. Imported foodstuffs were the usual fare for the black Barbadians who inhabited the Bridgetown area. In town, black men competed with one another for ephemeral, low-paying work as longshoremen, coal carriers, and porters, extending themselves to perform tasks that, on neighboring islands, often were relegated to beasts of burden (Verrill 1915: 148-49).

Impoverished, hemmed-in black Barbadians had by 1900 developed a number of traditional ways of attempting to cope with these local conditions. Church-based friendly societies, modeled along English lines, provided sick relief benefits and burial fees for a small weekly fee, and society membership carried with it social and ceremonial obligations. In the rural tenantry settlements neighbors and kinsmen also shared food back and forth on a reciprocal basis. As several very old Barbadians told me: "If I have food, I give to you. If you have, you give to me. That's the way people used to live in the country."

Another traditional means by which black Barbadians had coped with landlessness and impoverishment was by migration, mainly to Trinidad and British Guiana where they worked in seasonal cane harvests before coming home (Roberts 1955). At the 1897 Royal Commission (App. C, Vol. 2, Part III, "Barbados": 173) hearings in Bridgetown, one observer estimated that "about 1,000" Barbadian men left permanently each year for sister colonies. But depression now affected those places too. In near-desperation, some black Barbadians – as individuals and in small groups – sought any emigration outlet at the turn of the century. Some found jobs as railroad construction workers in Ecuador, Suriname, and Brazil (Greenfield 1981, 1983). A few wound up at the infamous Putamayo rubber district in the Peruvian Amazon (Reid 1976: 119-20, 126). One boatload, incredibly, even traveled to the Congo, its deck passengers seeking rail construction work ("Despatch from . . . Loanda", OG, Dec. 12, 1892: 1482).

Despite a varied but limited migration outlet for some black Barbadians in 1900, most stayed home. Their livelihood at the time, moreover, could be summarized as an attempt to strike a judicious balance between producing subsistence crops upon tiny plots of rented land and earning small amounts of estate wages. And usually neither element of this dual livelihood system was available in sufficiently large quantities for individuals to concentrate on either one or the other. Drought or seasonally heavy rains were sufficiently frequent and damaging to preclude concentration on subsistence gardening (even if one were financially able to purchase his own land). So money was



necessary to buy imported food supplements. On the other hand, estate wages were meager and seasonal and had to be supplemented with gardening. So a balance was necessary – indeed mandatory – for most rural black families between the accumulation of money through wage labor and the family-level production of foodstuffs on rented estate plots. This dual commitment between cash earning and subsistence production had characterized black Barbadian livelihood since emancipation. By 1900 this combination represented the most common survival strategy among Barbadian blacks, and it locked the great majority of rural black Barbadians into the island's plantation workforce.

From a black Barbadian point of view, the United States construction effort in Panama (1904-1914) therefore could not have begun at a better time. U.S. officials were disappointed in late 1904 when the governor of Jamaica denied the establishment of a canal labor recruiting station in Kingston. Surveying the remainder of the Caribbean region for labor, the Americans dismissed Haiti and the Dominican Republic as "Negro republics" whose residents were disinclined toward hard work. The U.S. Isthmian Canal Commission (ICC) officials considered the smallest British islands too tightly controlled by the British Colonial Office. And the French eventually curtailed emigration to the Canal Zone from Guadeloupe and Martinique. Among the remaining West Indian islands, Barbados – densely populated, English-speaking, controlled by a semi-independent planter legislature friendly to American overtures, and served by reliable steamer lines – was the most attractive. The ICC representative to Barbados, William Karner, arrived in Bridgetown on January 3, 1905. Karner immediately called on the governor, obtained permission to recruit canal workers in Barbados, and began publicizing free deck passage to and from Panama for "500 day workers" whose advertised wages would be a most attractive ten cents per hour for digging the canal.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the grim economic conditions on Barbados in early 1905 that coincided with the Panama Canal opportunity, the assertion that black Barbadians simply were "pushed" to the canal by macroeconomic circumstances is an oversimplification. Actually, Karner at first encountered reluctance, not enthusiasm, from black Barbadians about signing on as canal workers. Memories of disease and death accompanying the French canal effort two decades earlier, in which some Barbadians had participated, had given Panama a reputation as a workers' graveyard. Early in 1905 rumors circulated in Barbados about unemployment in the Canal Zone. And black Barbadians were wary of

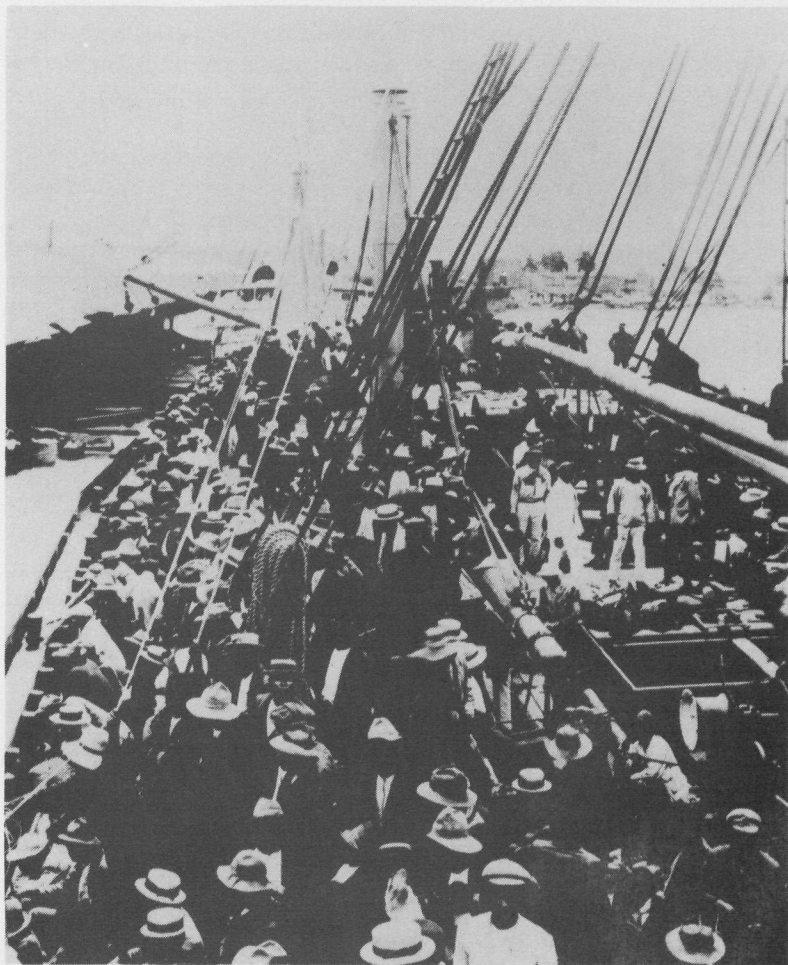
the capricious despotism they might encounter in "Latin" republics. Disappointed by the relative lack of enthusiasm among the Barbadians about the canal work opportunity, Karner wrote a letter to *The Barbados Advocate* (January 23, 1905) and advertised in other papers that there was "plenty of work" in Panama "at good wages."

It was the black Barbadians themselves, however, rather than Karner's efforts at advertising, who changed indifference to enthusiasm. Within a year, a "craze" and "frenzy" about going to Panama had electrified the black workers in the rural Barbados parishes. Returnees from Panama now were coming home with money in their pockets and stories of the tolerable working conditions in the Canal Zone. By 1909 the canal recruiting, begun by Karner with public pronouncements, had achieved its true success through the informal verbal and visual chain reaction among the migrants themselves:

After the stream of men was started, and the influence of the returned men on their friends and neighbours became fully felt, the state of affairs became gradually modified, and finally entirely altered. The returned men have been practically recruiting agents of the most effective sort, using their influence in every parish of Barbados, and with the result that now the voluntary applicants for the labour contracts are five or six times as numerous as the needs for men (*The Weekly Illustrated Paper*, August 21, 1909).

By 1908 at the ICC recruiting station in Barbados, the main labor recruiting problem was not how to induce laborers to travel to Panama but rather how to manage the crush of applicants for the positions available. Throughout the island on sailing day, the young men who had been contracted and their families walked to town. Tearful crowds waved good-byes as lighters carried the men from the Bridgetown wharf to the steamers waiting in Carlisle Bay. "(I)t seemed that the whole population of darkest Africa was there" exclaimed one American witness to the departure scene at wharfside. "I never saw so many negro women in all my life. All of them in their gayest Sunday clothes, and all wailing at the top of their voices" (Bullard 1914: 29-30). This scene, begun in 1905, was to play itself intermittently over and again at the Bridgetown wharf until the canal was completed in 1914. American officials stopped recruiting in that year and began sending many of the West Indians back to their home islands.

Estimates of the total number of Barbadians, including both contract laborers and others, who traveled to the Panama Canal between 1904 and 1914 run as high as 60,000 (Newton 1977: 26). A more conservative estimate is 45,000. Seemingly precise data exist only



2. Arrival in Panama of 1500 Barbadian Laborers Aboard *S.S. Ancon*, September 2, 1909. Still Picture Branch, National Archives, Washington, DC.

for the (entirely male) contract workers recruited by the ICC; altogether 44,000 contract workers were recruited from all over the world, and the 19,900 from Barbados were by far the most numerous from any single place. ICC recruits from Barbados were enumerated by year as follows: 1904-404; 1905-3019; 1906-6510; 1907-3242; 1908-2592; 1909-3605; 1913-528 (*Annual Report . . . Panama Canal* 1914: 294). (From

1910 to 1912 the ICC recruited only 1100 contract workers, none from Barbados.) The Barbadian contract workers came from every settlement and parish on the island.<sup>6</sup> Unlike the contract workers to the Canal Zone, the roughly 25,000 other Barbadians who paid their own way – often with money remitted by a husband or father who had gone ahead – included women and children. The numbers of these noncontract personnel can only be estimated; records were never kept of non-ICC workers leaving the island.

The exodus from Barbados to Panama, whatever the number, created massive demographic decline on Barbados. In 1891 the census had enumerated 182,306 Barbadians (including 122,717 “black” and 43,976 “mixed”). In 1911 the total was 171,983 (118,387 “black” and 41,533 “mixed”), and in 1921 a total of 156,312 (111,667 “black” and 34,216 “mixed”). The compiler of the 1911 census, citing birth and death data since the 1891 census, estimated that 48,625 Barbadians had emigrated to all destinations during the previous twenty years (Boyce 1911: 4).

Only about one-third of the Barbadians who traveled to Panama returned to Barbados to stay. Extrapolations from census reports, annual birth and death records, and officials’ published comments at the time all suggest strongly that the majority of Panama emigrants never came back. These conclusions are supported by the recollections of older Barbadians.

Many never returned because they died in Panama. The ICC records enumerated 5,893 Barbadians who died in the Canal Zone between 1906 and 1920.<sup>7</sup> Although causes were unspecified, probably most died from a combination of exhaustion and disease, the majority from malaria. Explosions, landslides, and machinery accidents killed many, and West Indian newspapers at the time routinely carried enumerations of those injured, mutilated, and maimed in Panama. When Barbadian officials received lists of local laborers killed in Panama, they dispatched a special police squad to notify parents, wives, or children of the recent deaths. Many old Barbadians remember the combination of excitement and trepidation accompanying the postman’s arrival. Often he brought letters and money from loved ones in Panama, but occasionally he carried death notices from Panama in black-bordered envelopes.

After the canal’s completion, many Barbadians stayed in Panama. Others moved on to subsequent work destinations, often after returning home briefly. A few drifted west to work in Honduran and Costa Rican banana plantations. Many went to the Dominican Republic or Cuba and the American-owned sugar cane estates there. Others emi-



3. Dynamite Crew, Canal Zone, January, 1912. Still Picture Branch, National Archives, Washington, DC.

grated eventually to New York. Hundreds of Jamaican and Barbadian canal veterans enlisted in the British West Indies Regiment in World War I and fought against the Turks in Palestine (Joseph 1971).

Among the thousands of Barbadians who did return home after the canal's completion, the swaggering show-off was the most colorful stereotype: "The returned Panama Canal labourer is an uncommonly vain fellow . . . (as) he struts along in all the glory of a gay tweed suit, a cylindrical collar and a flaring necktie . . ." (McLellan 1909: 78). But no single image could capture successfully the variety of men and women who came back. They were young to middle-aged, in good health and diseased, prosperous and penniless. The majority who returned probably did so rather quietly, a bit older and more sober. Their presence in the Barbadian tenantry villages added to the local reservoir of knowledge about the world outside, and their experiences abroad – like in all Caribbean societies – marked them as men and women to whom others would take their problems and appeals for advice.

## THE CHANGES PRODUCED BY REMITTANCES

Although migration structuralists claim a "disappointing role of remittances" (Rubenstein 1983: 299) for Caribbean migration societies, it would be difficult to assess the Panama Money sent home to Barbados in such gloomy terms. Probably the equivalent of £ 1,000,000 is much too conservative an estimate for the total sent and brought to Barbados from the Canal Zone by 1920. Thereafter, those staying abroad continued to send home money, many for decades, until they died. The largest official sum came via postal money orders which totaled nearly £ 550,000 between 1906 and 1920 (Table 1). During those years, whenever the mailboat arrived with money orders from Panama, Barbadian postal authorities braced themselves for encounters with "four or five rows of perspiring, gesticulating, and shouting individuals" who were sure to crowd the payment window at the Bridgetown post office in order to cash the money orders that had been sent to them from Panama (*The Weekly Illustrated Paper*, Sept. 15, 1906).

Larger individual sums were carried back home by returnees themselves (Table 1). Furthermore, it is certain that black Barbadians arriving home from Panama, and therefore required to declare the cash they carried with them, underdeclared these sums by a wide margin. A 1911 newspaper article, derived from the Bridgetown harbor master report, complained that:

We are of the opinion that the amount of money brought back to the island by emigrants who returned from Panama during the five years (1906-1910) was greater than the £ 20,000 a year which they are said to have declared to the Harbour Master on their arrival. People of the emigrant class are not given to taking persons of the official class into their confidence (*The Barbados Agricultural Reporter*, Nov. 18, 1911).

The £ 720,000 recorded in Table 1 is therefore only part, and very possibly the smaller part, of the total sent home. These data, of course, take no account of the cash sent in envelopes or taken home to wives and mothers by trusted friends. Older Barbadians also remember the many gifts – clothing, furniture, shoes – shipped back to those who stayed behind.

Indeed, most of the money sent home to Barbados from Panama seems to have been spent on "the basic necessities of life" (Rubenstein 1983: 299) such as food, clothing, and shelter. (The same, obviously, is true for incomes in "developed" countries.) But, contrary to Rubenstein's generalizations about remittances to Caribbean islands, a great

deal of the Panama Money sent to Barbados was invested as well. The number of depositors in the government savings bank increased from 14,212 in 1904 to 20,881 in 1914, a decade in which the total bank deposits increased from £ 117,000 to £ 209,000. Among the 921 new bank depositors between 1915 and 1917 (the only years of the period for which phenotypical data are available to categorize depositors), 689 were listed as "black".<sup>8</sup> In 1914, furthermore, following the days when "big mails arrive from Panama" a visitor to the Barbados savings bank could always find "a crowd of people there depositing money" (HA, June 16, 1914: 35).

Panama Money also bought between 5,000 and 10,000 small plots of Barbadian land in both rural and urban areas (Marshall 1974). Small-scale ownership of land in Barbados always had meant partial escape from plantation oppression, but locally-derived wages usually were insufficient to purchase land. In describing the evolution of recent small-scale settlements in Barbados in 1929, one witness testified before a visiting commission that it had really begun when "People sent back money from Panama with which to buy land and put houses on them; and since then, other persons have bought places of two or three acres here and there" (*Proceedings . . . Sugar Commission* 1929: 42).

The aggregate, working class land purchases on Barbados created new housing districts on freehold plots in both rural and urban areas. The lumber for the new houses also was purchased with Panama Money. These developments marked a significant change from earlier times because residents on freehold plots no longer were subject to the written contracts and labor tyranny of the tenantry settlements. These observations, moreover, are of greater than "particularistic" significance; when those denying the overall importance of Caribbean remittances characterize migrants' earnings as purchasing "inferior, price-inflated parcels of land" (Rubenstein 1983: 299), they ignore a fundamental characteristic of West Indian societies. Time after time Caribbean migrants, not only Barbadian emigrants to Panama, have purchased land at home with money earned abroad. The economic value of the land is indeed important. Just as important, however, is that throughout the region there is "a deeply felt attachment to the land that transcends the realm of economics" (Lowenthal 1961: 4).

The islandwide impact of the Panama remittances was not unnoticed by colonial officials. In December 1912, Governor Probyn of Barbados noted the general increase in local government revenue from import duties, attributing a substantial demand for imports to the "large amount of money remitted to the island by Barbadian emi-

grants, and especially by the labourers who are employed at Panama..." (P.P. 1912-13/LVII/61). A very brief comparison is illuminating: in 1910 local merchants advanced a total of £ 80,000 to the island's planters to finance that year's sugar cane crop (LC, May 23, 1911: 31); Table 1 shows that, in the same year, black Barbadians sent and brought home £ 83,000 officially, a figure that would be much higher if all money remitted to Barbados could ever be determined.

While remittances were accumulating quantitatively, they were helping to produce qualitative changes in Barbadian society as a whole. Demographically, the rural areas were losing people to the Bridgetown area, although the island's population as a whole was decreasing. But rural peoples moving to town were not all looking for hand-to-mouth jobs in the city. Often they had cash which they offered for small, peri-urban houseplots. Much of this money had been sent home by "emigrants to Panama (who) have not been forgetful of those left behind" (Boyce, 1911: 5-6).

It might be argued that the changeover from small, family-controlled sugar cane milling on Barbados was inevitable and that external

TABLE 1. MONEY (IN POUNDS STERLING) OFFICIALLY REMITTED FROM THE CANAL ZONE TO BARBADOS, 1906-1920

	Postal Money* Orders	Declared by Returning** Passengers	Total
1906	7,509	18,800	26,309
1907	46,160	26,291	72,451
1908	63,210	21,864	85,074
1909	66,272	14,820	81,092
1910	62,280	20,604	82,884
1911	51,009	14,032	65,041
1912	56,042	12,773	68,815
1913	63,816	19,342	83,158
1914	39,586	16,449	56,035
1915	22,874	6,666	29,540
1916	17,539	not available	17,539
1917	15,194	not available	15,194
1918	12,680	not available	12,680
1919	12,591	not available	12,591
1920	9,173	not available	9,173
Total	545,935	171,641	717,576

\* Annual Postal Reports, OG

\*\* Annual Harbor Master Reports, OG



competition and allied macroeconomic factors would have forced local planters to adopt central milling sooner or later. But the laments of Stanley Robinson and other Barbadian planters in the early twentieth century seem conclusive that the actual timing of the overall changes in Barbadian sugar cane milling was because of the Panama exodus. The number of mills on Barbados fell from 329 in 1911 to 263 in 1921 (Deerr 1949: 166-67), and, in more and more cases, steam was replacing wind as a power source. New technology, moreover, demanded new work regimens marked by a heightened sense of routine. The presence or lack of a breeze formerly had dictated the timing and intensity of windmill labor inputs in the cane grinding season, inputs varying from one parish to another. Now coal-powered steam had begun to homogenize labor inputs on estates throughout the island with little regard for local climatic perturbations.

Traditional planter paternalism had begun to decline noticeably on Barbados by 1910 (*The Barbados Agricultural Reporter*, Nov. 15, 1910). This new, impersonal attitude was not simply a stance adopted by the planters; it was also shaped by new expectations of a day's pay for a day's work that black women and men brought home with them from Panama. More and more, demands of the workers and counter-offers by the planters were being expressed in the parlance of standardized wages, threatened strikes, and the formation of workers' groups, rather than in the old-fashioned terms of access to subsistence grounds, grazing rights, or Christmas gifts of breadfruits and potatoes. All of these changes were, in a sense, financed with Panama remittances.

The first rural Barbadian emigrants to the Canal Zone in 1904 were used to growing a substantial percentage of their own food and sharing it among friends and kin on a reciprocal basis. They were therefore unaccustomed to considering food a commodity whose value always could be determined by a cash price. Perhaps this food-sharing tradition helps explain why so many canal laborers were at first unwilling to pay what was to them exorbitant prices for food in Panama; in doing without sufficient sustenance, they sometimes suffered malnutrition, sickness, and even early death in the first years of the canal construction (*The Barbados Advocate*, May 26, 1906). By early 1908, however, most West Indian workers in the Canal Zone were being provided with "proper cooked meals (with) . . . the charge for meals . . . deducted from wages" (Cornish 1909: 103).

Within a decade, the idea of buying most of one's food had been taken back to Barbados so that by 1920 the reciprocal sharing of food in rural Barbadian parishes had declined noticeably. Food at home

now was a commodity bought and sold with money, a trait reinforced by the influx of more cash than ever before. Accordingly, personal food-sharing relationships on Barbados had largely disappeared. As food became a cash-based commodity on Barbados, social relationships thus changed. In the words of a 90-year old man of St. George parish: "Long ago people used to share their food. After Panama, they had to buy it. There was no longer any love in their hearts."

Panama Money also increased the number and transformed the character of Barbadian friendly societies. Between 1904 and 1914 the number of friendly societies in Barbados increased threefold from 92 to 285, and the total friendly society membership similarly trebled from 13,933 to 42,458 (Barbados *Blue Books*, 1904-1914). The surge of money from abroad allowed black Barbadians to deposit small amounts during a given year with local friendly society treasurers and then receive Christmas payouts of these savings as a "bonus" at the end of the year.<sup>9</sup> Most Barbadians therefore had come to regard the friendly society as a local level savings bank rather than a mutual help institution; as early as 1908 the Barbados friendly society registrar lamented that black Barbadians suddenly were much more interested in the local friendly societies as sources of "a Bonus (rather) than on the primary ideal of relieving the sick and distressed and burying the dead" (OG, Oct. 1, 1908: 1504). Thereafter Barbadian friendly societies only rarely observed the religious and ceremonial functions that had accompanied their earlier mutual aid objectives (Wells 1953: 6). The important internal changes in the character of the Barbadian friendly societies of St. Thomas parish of Barbados in the early twentieth century were summed up by an old man who told me, "After Panama, friendly societies was all business. There was no more harmonizin' in it."

The varied and interrelated changes in land purchases, and changes in attitudes toward work, subsistence, and friendly societies on Barbados all were tied directly to the demographic and economic transformations that had occurred in the era of – and because of – Panama Money. Moreover, other widespread and unsettling changes on Barbados at the time were indirectly tied to the transformations created by the money that had been sent and brought home. By the second decade of the century, black Barbadians were forming new social, religious, and political groupings by substituting, in a broad sense, class and ideological interests for those formerly based on common residential location in a particular estate tenantry. Fundamentalist churches, for example, were becoming much more important for black Barbadians,

representing lifeboats of stability and identity in an era of unprecedented change. Religious membership in "Other Demoninations" (other than Anglican, Methodist, and Moravian) had numbered only 1,560 in the 1891 census; the number grew to over 17,000 in both the 1911 (Boyce 1911: 78-79) and 1921 (Lofty 1921: 36) censuses, although Barbados's absolute population was, of course, declining sharply in those same years. Perhaps more important, fundamentalist church sermons were not only providing group identity, but they were also taking on quasi-political tones. More and more black preachers challenged their congregations to contemplate the political and economic oppression that provided the basis for local black-white inequities.

It was not until the 1920s, however, when the forerunners of black political parties began to emerge in Barbados under black leadership. The 1919 founding of the *Barbados Herald* saw the rise of a weekly newspaper with biting, acerbic, working-class views, a publication that would serve to articulate and orchestrate black grievances. In October, 1924, Charles Duncan O'Neale formed the Democratic League, a political party with a frankly socialist agenda. By early 1927 O'Neale also had formed the Workingmen's Association, an alliance based in Bridgetown but which held meetings in rural parishes as well.

The Canal Zone itself, not surprisingly, was a source of inspiration for black political movements on Barbados. Labor union organizers among black "silver employees" were active in the Canal Zone as early as 1915 (Davis 1981: 115-122). These events were followed closely back in Barbados. Returned veterans from Panama, furthermore, were among the most vociferous political spokesmen among black Barbadians in the 1920s. When former canal laborers spoke out against Barbadian injustice back at home a decade later at meetings of the Workingmen's Association, assembled crowds listened closely to those who had earned local respect through their travels abroad.

The inevitable collision between black Barbadian working peoples and the island's white powerholders did not occur until July, 1937. This was the date of the Bridgetown riots which were part of the chain reaction of violent, working class disturbances throughout the eastern Caribbean in the depression decade. Although the flashpoint of the 1937 Barbados riots was, of course, attributed to particular local events, the underlying causes could be traced to the changes that had taken place in the previous decades. The riots actually represented an expression of the incompatibility between black Barbadians' rising expectations and an anachronistic system of white planter control. Many of the witnesses at the post riot hearings in Bridgetown pointed

out that, since the turn of the century, plantation paternalism had vanished, a full money economy had replaced a quasi-feudal existence on local sugar cane plantations, and that current low wages were related to worker malnutrition and other miseries (Beckles 1937). In short, the Bridgetown riots were fueled indirectly by the changes that had occurred in Barbados during the massive emigration to the Panama Canal and the thwarted hopes – expectations originally financed with Panama Money – of black Barbadians.

#### DISCUSSION

One-half century later – in the mid 1980s – Barbadians generally consider the 1937 Bridgetown riots an historical watershed for their island; the event at once marked the beginning of the end of white planter control as well as the first real steps toward black social and economic freedom on the island (Hoyos 1974). Therefore, the underpinnings of contemporary Barbadian social and political institutions may be traced indirectly to changes brought about by the achievements of the migrants themselves, achievements financed by the money that migrants sent and brought back. Though coerced and mistreated both at home and abroad, the men and women who migrated from Barbados to Panama created important social changes in their home island and, like oppressed peoples in other places and at other times, “were as much agents in the historical process as they were its victims and silent witnesses” (Wolf 1982: x).

Addressing the central issue as to whether or not remittances from Panama had “developmental” significance in Barbados in the early twentieth century, it appears certain that they did. Money sent and brought home from Panama improved the quality of life for thousands of black Barbadians in several significant ways. It was the vehicle for land purchases, newer and better housing, and more cash created demands for better clothing and, eventually, better sanitation and better medical care for many black Barbadians. The thousands of rural tenantry dwellers who, because of Panama Money, were able to move to the Bridgetown area had better and more varied economic opportunities than ever before.

The many material improvements achieved with Panama Money, moreover, created a beneficial momentum allowing many black Barbadians to prosper further once they were back at home. Access to land plots provided the potential for a larger, more varied subsistence safety

net; but many of the small-scale landholders instead took advantage of the high sugar prices inspired by World War I by growing cane on their newly-purchased land plots. Panama Money also created hundreds of new shops in the Barbadian countryside (McLellan 1909: 63). Although many of the shops failed financially, some gave their owners a sufficient foothold in the local economy to move their small businesses into town. Fishing boats purchased with Panama remittances allowed their owners independence from the local estates and indirectly improved local diets. Perhaps most important, Panama Money "developed" higher economic expectations to the point that black Barbadians no longer accepted the conditions they had tolerated in the past.

Some of the changes on Barbados that came about because of the Panama migration and Panama Money were not always for the better. The hardening of class lines between planters and workers created an unpleasant social atmosphere. More money, of course, led to workers' susceptibility to externally-influenced currency inflation that eventually affected most food items. In some cases, persons with money to purchase food – precluding the obligation to produce their own subsistence – bought nutritionally unsuitable food imports, actually leading to dietary deficiencies ("The Fifth Annual Report of the Public Health Inspector," OG, June 13, 1918: 1071).

More important, however, in attempting to emphasize the scale and the impact – and thereby the overall importance – of the remittances from Panama to Barbados is to point out that socioeconomic changes on the island, contrary to the claims of macro-analysts, were produced by the migrants (and their remittances) themselves. To be sure, external, "structural" circumstances created depression, influenced local land and local food prices, and provided external work possibilities. But it was the Panama migrants who determined the timing, the extent, and the eventual direction of the changes that took place on Barbados in the early twentieth century. In other words, the men and women who went to Panama from Barbados were the actors, not the pawns, in an era of pivotal socioeconomic change.

It is tempting to extrapolate from this interpretation of what the migration to and remittances from the Panama Canal meant to Barbados and to seek similar episodes in West Indian history that have contributed to similar development and change elsewhere in the region, thereby contributing to a possible generalization about migration and change. One could begin with Nevis where migration, remittances, and land purchases after World War II "effected . . . major changes in local economy and society" (Frucht 1968: 200). But enthusiasm for

such extrapolation would soon diminish with the realization that Caribbean "migration" is by no means a uniform process, but one that has differed spatially and temporally since emancipation. Inter-island migrations by freedmen from the islands in the 1840s were not the same – in vessel types, distances, motivations, or volumes of money earned – as traveling to the Panama Canal six decades later (Richardson 1983: 19-20). Nor was either of these movements the same, for example, as the exodus to Britain in the 1950s. Remittances, moreover, have varied greatly in volume and purpose in the Caribbean region. Whereas money sent home from Panama produced crucial changes on Barbados in the early twentieth century, the role of remittances in Barbados probably is still not nearly as important as it is on Carriacou, for example, where "if money stopped coming in from abroad, the entire economic structure of the island would collapse" (Hill 1977: 238). And neither migrations nor remittances in the insular Caribbean are the same as along the English-speaking Caribbean rim of eastern Nicaragua where "(m)igration is one of the most common of the many economic options used by Miskito families to adapt to internal and external conditions" (Nietschmann 1979: 20).

These migration or mobility distinctions within the Caribbean region cannot be homogenized into a single class of phenomena. Nor can the majority of these movements be seriously interpreted as events relentlessly decreed or influenced from afar, despite the appeal of generalizations to the contrary. In reality, Caribbean people have moved to nearby towns, nearby islands, and destinations around the globe, and then often back home again, in order to escape local conditions, to better themselves, to support those left behind, and for many other reasons (Carnegie 1983). Migration structuralists would profit more from reexamining and contemplating the regional migration typologies that have been formulated by others (González 1961; Mintz 1955) and by themselves (Rubenstein 1982) for a sense of the formidable complexity of Caribbean migration trajectories and motives rather than attempting to devise overarching "explanations" for a regional migration homogeneity that does not exist.

When the fictional shopkeeper, Mr. Poyer, returned home to Barbados from the Panama Canal, he was understandably proud of his accomplishments. Like many of his counterparts, Poyer had accumulated savings in Panama with which he then established a small, roadside store back on Barbados. But, according to Poyer, he had not compromised his own sense of dignity for American wages in the Canal Zone: "I carry on like a rattlesnake there . . . I let dem understand

quick enough dat I wuz a Englishman and not a bleddy American nigger!" (Walrond 1972: 42). Although Poyer's remarks are, strictly speaking, the product of an author's imagination, they are not to be taken lightly. West Indians today, as in the past, are still proud of their migration accomplishments abroad; their sense of pride, moreover, should not be regarded as either an object of pity or a symptom of innocence about the "real" reasons behind their migrations. In compensating for problems of small island size, racism and oppression at home, and a hostile external world, mobile West Indians have accomplished impressive achievements. These "particularistic" attributes should not be underestimated or dismissed by facile macro-analyses that usually have the curious result of according the people in question – in this case, West Indian migrants – much less credit than they deserve.

#### NOTES

1. Interviewing and archival work in Barbados from August, 1981, through July, 1982, and research at the National Archives in Washington, DC, in August, 1982, were supported by a grant from the Geography and Regional Science Division of the National Science Foundation. Larry Grossman and Linda Richardson provided helpful critiques of earlier drafts of this paper. Amplification of this topic will be available in a forthcoming book: *Panama Money in Barbados, 1900-1920*, to be published by the University of Tennessee Press in late 1985.
2. Relying on postal data alone for a measure of islandwide remittance totals is, however, risky for contemporary studies. This is because so much of the money sent from abroad now comes through the banks, and local bank officials, with very few exceptions, are reluctant to divulge these data.
3. It is well beyond the scope of this paper to discuss fully the "structural" approach to Third World migration which has gained widespread appeal as a corollary to dependency and world-system thinking over the past two decades. In very general terms, structural migrationists may be said to interpret labor flows in the world periphery as influenced by capitalist demands rather than as a collective expression of individuals' migration decisions (Wood 1982).
4. These population data for 1900 are estimates. There were population censuses in Barbados in 1891 and 1911 but none for 1901.
5. Correspondence related to the ICC decision to recruit laborers in Barbados is located in Record Group 185 (Panama Canal) at the Suitland, Maryland, annex of the National Archives in Washington, DC.

6. For a computer print-out based on manuscript emigrants' registers which enumerates nearly 6,000 contract workers by Barbadian village and parish see Bonham C. and Linda B. Richardson, "Barbadian Contract Laborers to the Panama Canal, 1906-7", Barbados Department of Archives (1982).
7. See the annual "Death by Nationality" tables compiled in the Sanitation Reports in the *Annual Report ... Panama Canal*, 1907-1921.
8. Ledgers and depositors' registers from the Barbados Savings Bank in the early twentieth century are available at the Barbados Department of Archives.
9. Each friendly society had to deposit its savings with the Barbados Savings Bank whose ledgers are at the Barbados Department of Archives. Every December the friendly society accounts reflected massive withdrawals so that the Christmas "bonus" payout could be made to members.

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*Barbados Agricultural Reporter*, Newspaper at the Barbados Department of Archives.

*Barbados Blue Books*, Barbados Department of Archives.

HA Barbados House of Assembly Debates, Barbados Department of Archives.

LC Barbados Legislative Council Debates, Barbados Department of Archives.

OG Barbados *Official Gazette*, Barbados Department of Archives.

PP British Sessional Papers ("Parliamentary Papers" on microfiche).

RC Royal Commission of 1897.

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## PRELIMINARIES TO THE STUDY OF THE DIALECTS OF WHITE WEST INDIAN ENGLISH\*

### INTRODUCTION

Scattered throughout the anglophone West Indies there exists a minority "poor white" population, descended from the early English colonial expansion. As Hancock (1984: 2) has pointed out, the speakers of various metropolitan English dialects represent one of the ingredients in the contact situation that gave rise to the contemporary English-related creoles. However, this population has received only scant attention from creolists despite the fact that their dialects are the contemporary survivals of those metropolitan varieties which were present in the early sociolinguistic environment.

The purpose of this paper is to present some of the demographic, geographic, and sociolinguistic parameters which affected the development of the dialects of white West Indian English.<sup>1</sup> For the most part, the focus will be on the historical accounts of the white population. By examining the historical evidence, tentative relationships between the dialects which take into account settlement history, internal migration, and areal contact will be presented.

### EARLY ENGLISH SETTLEMENT AND THE GROWTH OF THE WHITE POPULATION

With the founding of the first permanent English colonies at St. Kitts (1624) and Barbados (1627) came the immediate need for planters and

laborers to run the agricultural enterprise. The first imported labor force into the English possessions came from the British Isles. Planters in the West Indies established an early preference for white labor, hoping to keep the new colonies primarily European. While servants from Scotland and Wales were generally preferred by the planters in Barbados and St. Kitts, they were forced to acquire servants from all parts of the British Isles (Niles 1980: 22).

Bond servants were shipped from the ports of Bristol and London in England, and Limerick and Kinsale in Ireland (Bridenbaugh 1972: 15; Le Page and DeCamp 1960: 12). The shipping was carried out by both English and Dutch firms. The Dutch participation is not surprising, given the amount of Dutch influence on Barbadian society in the seventeenth century (cf., Niles 1980; Williams 1983a). Servants were procured by a variety of means, including kidnapping (Le Page and DeCamp 1960: 12). The majority of the illegal methods were later outlawed by the authorities in Bristol and London as well as in the colonies.

In the early period, indentured servants worked together in small groups on small farm plots (Niles 1980: 69). This situation stands in direct contrast to the plantation in which the majority of African slaves were later to find themselves. In this period prior to 1660, there was a limited use of African slaves in all of the English possessions. This was due to two related factors, the first being the desire of the colonial administrations to establish a predominantly white population in the islands, and the second being the abundance and availability of white servants to fulfill that desire (Bridenbaugh 1972: 32). Up until 1660, those slaves that were being introduced into the English islands came primarily through the Dutch entrepôts at Curaçao and St. Eustatius (Williams 1983a).

It was not until after 1660 that the European traders – especially the Dutch – were able to make the use of African slaves economically attractive for the English planters. Prior to that, white servants were more easily and more cheaply obtained than were African slaves. The servants were also only bonded for a finite period of time – from about four to seven years depending on their age and sex. The African slaves, on the other hand, were a lifelong investment for the planters. A consequence of this was that the African slaves were given better treatment than were the indentured servants in this early period. Oftentimes, the servants were worked to death during the last year of their indenturage. In doing so, the planter class was able to avoid having to provide the servants with land as their contracts had provi-

ded (cf. Bridenbaugh 1972; Hamshere 1972). During this period, the European servants and the African slaves worked and lived together – a social arrangement which had linguistic consequences (Le Page and DeCamp 1960: 18; Niles 1980: 67; Price 1962: 48).

The white population was steadily increasing up until the 1660s. In particular, the number of Irish in places such as Barbados, St. Kitts, and Montserrat increased to a point that orders were issued to limit their further immigration (Sheppard 1977: 23). While this official action had little effect on the actual situation, it was taken in response to the fears that the predominantly Irish-Catholic servants would side with the French during the territorial battles in the region. This was a particular concern of the planters in St. Kitts since the island was divided between the English and the French at the time. The Irish had also acquired the reputation for being “lazy” and “worthless”<sup>2</sup> (Le Page and DeCamp 1960: 12). Sheppard (1977: 23) reports that the Irish also had a proclivity for escaping and joining up with African maroon communities. Niles (1980: 79) has documented this pattern of behavior for the entire indentured population.

The increasing white population caused a number of problems for the planter class. Many of the servants brought to Barbados, St. Kitts, and Antigua had been promised a parcel of land at the end of their indenturement. However, the rapid growth in the number of servants left only a small portion of arable land to be divided up amongst them, since the planters had already acquired the majority of it. The continual freeing of large numbers of servants soon gave rise to a large, primarily landless population in the larger islands (Bridenbaugh 1972: 176).

Concerns about overcrowding and increasing poverty among the servile whites led to government-initiated relocations from St. Kitts and Antigua during the seventeenth century. A considerable number of independent relocations to the surrounding islands, such as the exodus of servants from St. Kitts to Montserrat, also occurred in this period (Hamshere 1972: 34). Sheppard states that over 500 servants fled from Antigua to the nearby French and Dutch possessions in the time up until 1660.

Hancock (1980: 22) has argued that Barbados was an exception among the English possessions in the West Indies, having a white majority which spoke nautically or provincially influenced varieties of English.<sup>3</sup> This situation seems, however, to have been paralleled in many of the other English islands as Table 1 shows. The early demographic situation would have been represented by a large white popula-

tion, including both native and non-native speakers of English; and a smaller African population, none of which would have spoken any type of English at this time. The early work situation was one of small-scale farms on which whites and blacks worked side-by-side. The effect of this on the linguistic situation was realized as early as 1667 by a Barbadian writer, saying that with the large number of white servants and poor whites who worked in the fields, and the number of blacks that had become tradesmen, "... now there were many thousands of slaves that speak English" (CSPC 1661-1668: # 1657).

### THE GEOGRAPHY OF WHITE MIGRATION

As previously discussed, during the seventeenth century the white population increased in the British West Indies. As land became scarce and the conditions of indenturage worsened, many of the servants chose to flee from the larger islands in search of places where land was available and where they could not be found and thereby subject to re-indentureship. There were also a number of migrations that were initiated by the colonial administrations of the various islands. These took place, for the most part, in the middle decades of the nineteenth century and were initiated by the Barbadian officials.

It is important for the purposes of determining the relationships between the dialects of white West Indian English to differentiate certain temporal and spatial parameters that have affected the settlement strategies. First, a distinction must be made between the *original settlements*, on the one hand, and the *branch*, or *relocated settlements*, on the other. We are then able to make a distinction between communities such as those in the Scotland District of Barbados, which are original settlements dating back to the seventeenth century, and those communities found on St. Vincent, Grenada, and Bequia, which are offshoots of the original settlements on Barbados. Relocated communities such as these are the products of government-initiated emigration dating back to the nineteenth century. Not to recognize this temporal factor in the settlement histories of these white communities would skew the dialect relationships that would be established.

Within the branch settlements a further distinction must be made between those which were government-initiated and those which were not. This distinction will aid in accounting for those communities which are, or were, in existence but whose origins are not documented in the historical records. Communities such as those on Saba and

TABLE I. THE POPULATION OF THE WEST INDIES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Location	Date	Whites	Blacks
Anguilla	1676	550	0
Antigua	1672	1200	570
	1678	2308	2896
	1690	5000	?
Bahamas	1670	300	200
Barbados	1692	1400	?
	1650	24000	6000
	1655	23000	20000
	(est) 1660	22000	20000
	(est) 1670	20000	30000
	1673	21309	33184
	1676	21725	32473
	1684	19568	46602
	(est) 1690	18000	50000
Bermuda	1629	2000	?
	1698	3615	2247
Jamaica	1662	4100	552
	1673	7700	9500
	(est) 1690	10000	30000
Montserrat	1648	1000 families	?
	1677	2682	1229
Nevis	1672	1600	1739
	1672	3521	3860
Saba	1659	120	87
St Kitts	1667	6823	6350
	1678	1897	1914
St. Thomas	1672	104	?
	1673	29	?
Tortola	1672	10-12 Dutch families	
		80 English, Irish, Welsh	?
	1685	1 couple	?



Anguilla are probable examples. For these communities, ethnohistory is a valuable tool to be used by the creolist in determining the settlement histories.

On Saba, for example, there are no existing historical records which indicate that the influx of the English-speaking whites in the years between 1640 and 1659 was due to a planned relocation on the part of any island's administration. Even so, by 1659, English speakers accounted for half of the total population; the other half being Dutch (Hartog 1982). Given the political relations between England and Holland in the seventeenth century, it is highly unlikely that the Dutch government would have officially approved of the English immigration.

The ethnohistorical account of Saba provided by Johnson (1979), indicates that the influx of English-speaking whites was the result of political events on St. Kitts, in particular, the lack of willingness on the part of some of the Kittians to side with the English against the French. In light of the historical reports concerning the Irish siding with the French against the English, and the long-standing influence of the Catholic Church on Saba, it appears that the first immigrants were Irish Catholics who came from St. Kitts in the time between 1640 and 1659. However, what remains unknown is what percentage of this population was only speaking English as a second-languages – that is, how many were speakers of Gaelic or other languages – but had acquired some command of English through their indenturage. This question remains to be answered.<sup>4</sup>

For the communities such as those on Bequia, St. Vincent, and Grenada which were planned relocations on the part of the Barbadian government, the demographic particulars are somewhat clearer. We know, for instance, the date of migration and the reasons behind it.<sup>5</sup> However, a generalization concerning the geography of white settlement for both the original and the branch settlements can be made.

The majority of white communities that have continued to exist since the early English colonization have relied on certain topographic features for their longevity. For some of the communities, relative isolation has facilitated their homogeneous development. In the cases of Barbados and Anguilla which are generally flat, the freed servants settled in the more remote and more hilly regions. While remoteness and elevation are only slight in those cases, the preference for settlement in areas of this type is exhibited by the locations of other white communities as well.

On St. Vincent, the whites were relocated to Dorsetshire Hill (Price

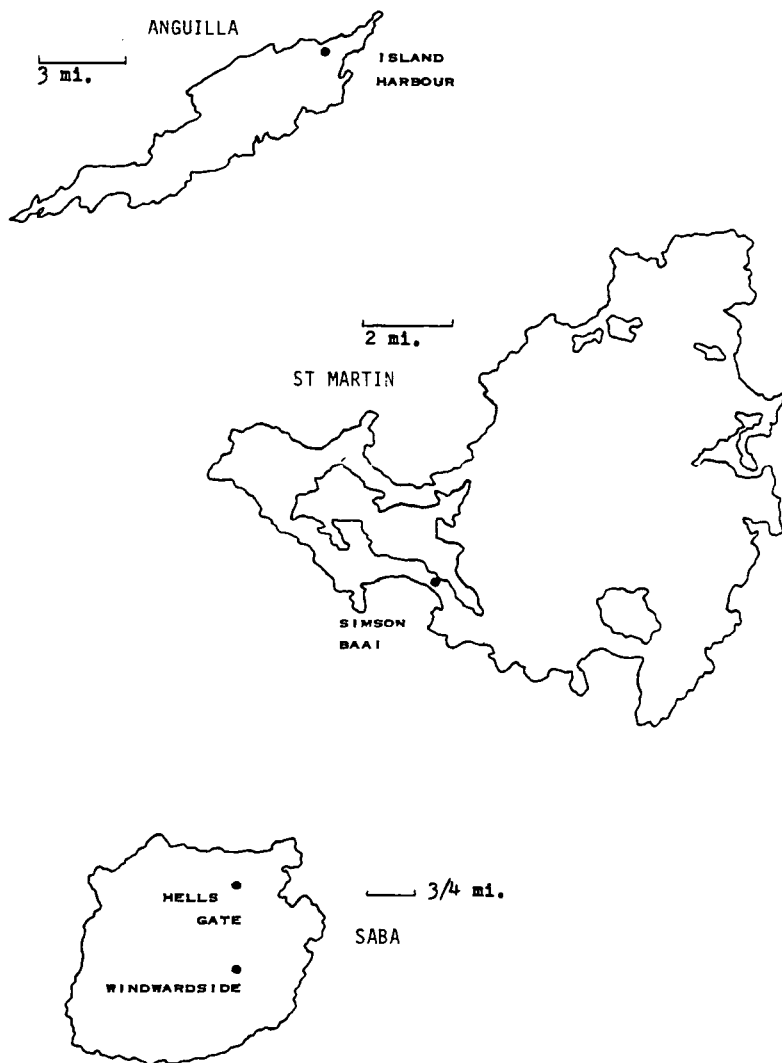
1962). The area is one of steep ridges covered with a deep friable soil. It was from this position that the French and the Caribs were able to maintain a stronghold during the eighteenth century, since it completely commands the surrounding area (Shephard 1831; Sheppard 1977; 68-71). However, Dorsetshire Hill has now become a middle-class suburb of Kingstown, changing the racial demography of the district.<sup>6</sup> The maps show the locations of the communities discussed; Table 2 lists the documented white communities. (I have chosen to include both the Bahamas and Bermuda for historical reasons.)

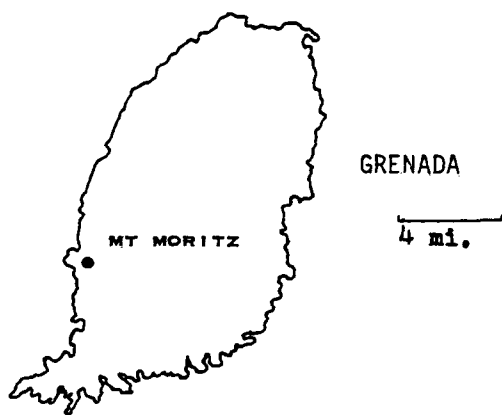
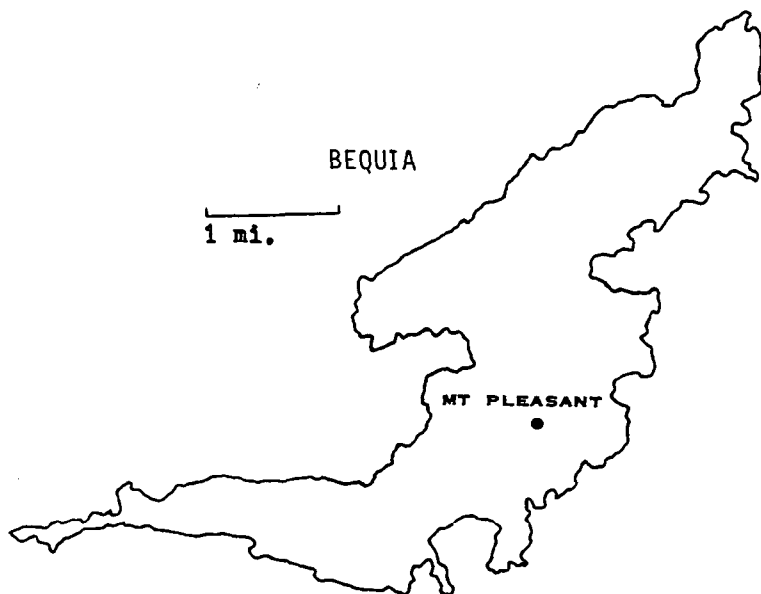
TABLE 2. CONTEMPORARY WHITE COMMUNITIES IN THE WEST INDIES\*

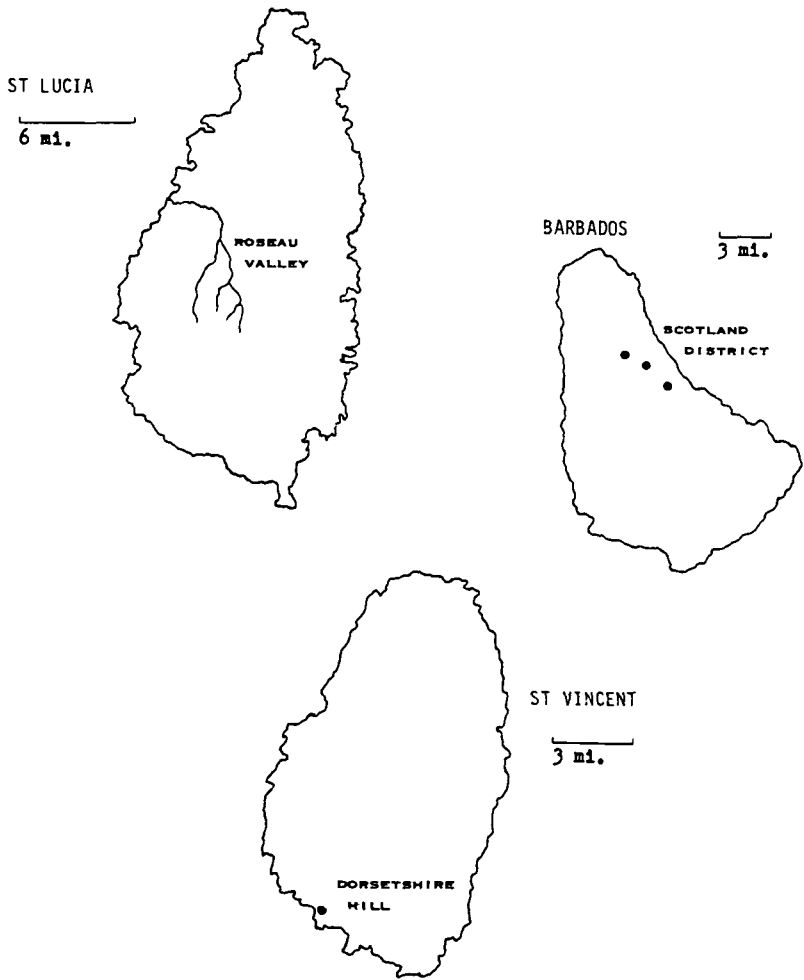
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- |     |  |
|-----|--|
| 1.  | Anguilla – Irish, Scots                |
| (a) | Island Harbour                         |
| 2.  | Bahamas – English, American            |
| (a) | Abaco                                  |
| (b) | Eleuthera                              |
| (c) | Long Island                            |
| (d) | New Providence                         |
| 3.  | Barbados – Irish, Scots, English       |
| (a) | Scotland District                      |
| 4.  | Bay Islands – English, Scots           |
| (a) | French Cay                             |
| 5.  | Bermuda – English                      |
| 6.  | Cayman Islands – English, Irish, Scots |
| 7.  | Grenada – Irish, Scots, English        |
| (a) | Mt Moritz                              |
| 8.  | Grenadines – Irish, Scots, English     |
| (a) | Bequia                                 |
| (1) | Mt Pleasant                            |
| 9.  | Jamaica – German                       |
| (a) | Seaford                                |
| 10. | Saba – Irish, Scots, English           |
| (a) | Hells Gate                             |
| (b) | Windwardside                           |
| 11. | St Barts – French                      |
| 12. | St. Lucia – Irish, Scots, English      |
| (a) | Roseau Valley                          |
| 13. | St. Martin – Irish, Dutch, French      |
| (a) | Simson Baai                            |
| 14. | St. Thomas – French                    |
| (a) | Carenage                               |
| 15. | St. Vincent – Irish, Scots, English    |
| (a) | Dorsetshire Hill                       |
- 

\* compiled by J. Williams (1983)

## THE GEOGRAPHY OF WHITE COMMUNITIES







On Grenada, the whites were relocated to Mt. Moritz in the 1870s, where they have persisted as a "closed peasant community of 'poor whites'" (Smith 1965: 15). Here also, the minority white population settled in an elevated region and is relatively isolated from the rest of the society. In both Grenada and St. Vincent, the white communities are located within a few miles of those islands' respective capitals. Being spatially removed from the majority of the population while still being within a short distance of the metropolitan and creole influences has had an effect on the sociolinguistic repertoire of these individuals.

## RACE AND SOCIAL IDENTITY IN WHITE COMMUNITIES

The indentured servants who were brought to the West Indies in the seventeenth century were expected to fulfill the same functions as the unprivileged servile class had done in the Motherland. Even though their labor provided the backbone for the agricultural enterprise, they were immediately distinguished as being socially apart from the white planter class in the region (Dunn 1972: 71-72). In Antigua, Barbados, and St. Kitts, they were soon to be grouped with the African slaves in terms of their behavior and their social position. However, they did not view their own position within the larger society as such.

Davis (1978: 16-17) has presented her interpretation of the social and ethnic identity of white Barbadians as follows.

In any case, they (white Barbadians) seem never to have formed a distinct sector in terms of community self-governance, or in forms of mating, marriage, family and household organization, ownership, and inheritance. In these, as in forms of expressive culture (eg. dress, *speech*<sup>7</sup>, gesture, entertainment, skills and knowledge), poor whites were early *creolized*<sup>7</sup> to a joint culture with lower-class blacks.

From both a synchronic and a diachronic perspective, Davis' conclusions appear to be incorrect. Sheppard (1977: 75) reports that in 1895, the "poor whites" often wore masks over the lower portion of the face to prevent the lips from being burned by the sun. She also offers the following interpretation of kinship and incest among white Barbadians: "Certainly their self-enforced isolation from the other sections of the community led to their inbreeding." Price (1962: 50) has commented on the lack of intermarriage among the whites living in the Dorsetshire Hill district of St. Vincent, but does not mention inbreeding. For Saba, Hartog (1982) discusses the history of the white community at Mary's Point, where inbreeding was practiced in an extreme form, leading to a number of birth defects. The community was relocated by the colonial administration to a site near the capital (cf. Williams 1983b).

Price (1962: 51) states that the white Grenadians at Mt. Moritz are culturally distinct from the majority black population. At one time they were also feared by the local blacks. This same sentiment was also expressed to me by informants I worked with in the white community of Mt. Pleasant, Bequia, and by local blacks living in other, nearby communities. The roots of the cultural distinction exhibited by the branch white communities and their preference for isolation can be traced back to the original white communities on Barbados, Antigua, and St. Kitts.<sup>8</sup>

Given the information presented here, it is obvious that the conclusions drawn by Davis are incorrect. White Barbadians, historically, formed a distinct sector within the larger Barbadian society. This pattern was transferred with the relocation of a number of individuals to the islands of Grenada, St. Vincent, and Bequia. While the white Barbadians, or "Redlegs", have generally disappeared as a class in the Scotland District, their descendants on those other islands continue to persist, maintaining a number of the cultural traditions and ways of speaking.<sup>9</sup>

#### SOCIOLINGUISTIC PARAMETERS AND THE FEATURES OF WHITE WEST INDIAN ENGLISH

In the final section of this paper, an outline of some of the sociolinguistic factors that have affected the development of the dialects of white West Indian English will be presented. Given the scarcity of data for any comparative statements, much of what follows is programmatic in nature.

The aim of the research on the speech of the minority white population is to document, from an ethnographic perspective (cf. Hymes 1972, 1974; Sherzer 1977; Abrahams 1983), the range of social and regional variation that is present. Some of the earlier studies of the dialects of white West Indian English, primarily those of Ryan (1973) and Holm (1980), have failed to contextualize adequately the data presented as being representative of those dialects. My use of contextualization here has two related, yet quite distinct meanings. First, it applies to the overall cultural assumptions and presuppositions that an individual brings to a situation and the ways in which these pragmatic factors influence the sociolinguistic outcome. Second, it refers to the immediate context of the event, or the social situation. Without knowledge of the social identity of the participants involved, or the informants, we cannot ascertain the true nature of the sociolinguistic evidence we are presented with. A necessary goal of any study of the speech of the minority white population in the West Indies will be to contextualize the data in such a way so as to be able to specify under what social and linguistic conditions the use of creole features occurs in their vernacular.

We should also observe if the tendency of creole features to group in relation to the division between Eastern and Western Caribbean also holds for the dialects of white West Indian English (cf. Hancock 1984).

However, in doing so, we do not want to focus only on the creole features of the dialects since they may be attributable solely to areal contact. Related to this is the issue of the directionality of influence between the dialects of white West Indian English and the West Indian creoles. Holm (1980: 60) in his ground-breaking article, has argued for an African origin for many of the features of white Bahamian English. While certain speakers of white West Indian English may have adopted features of the West Indian creoles, this does not necessarily indicate that their origin – in the speech of whites – is African. The view presented here parallels that of Le Page (1977) and Hancock (1984) in which there are multiple influences and a number of 'ingredients' which are affected by temporal, spatial, and social factors in the linguistic contact – giving rise to a creole language. The presence of such features is more likely attributable to contact with creole speakers and specific 'acts of identity' on the part of individual speakers of white West Indian English (cf. Le Page 1980; Le Page and Tabouret-Keller in press).

Hancock (1984: 5-6) points out that the dialects of white West Indian English as well as those of St. Helena, Tristan da Cunha, Pitcairn, and Norfolk Island will give creolists clues as to the type of English that was taken on ships out of England. Clearly, this will be one outcome of the documentation of these dialects; however, it remains unclear at the present time whether the indentured population that was transported to the West Indies in the seventeenth century actually spoke nautically influenced varieties of English. In stating this I do not intend to misrepresent Hancock's position, since this statement refers to nautical English as well as any other types that were taken out of England on ships. Instead, I am contending that we must ascertain the degree of overlap between the features of nautical English and the features of the provincial varieties of English.

I will now outline some of the linguistic features of the dialects of white West Indian English that (I) need further documentation and analysis, and following that (II) need comparison with the features in the creole languages of the West Indies. This outline draws heavily on my own work involving the white communities on Saba and Bequia (cf. Williams 1983b and in preparation) as well as the work of Holm and that of Ryan which have already been cited.

### *Phonology*

- (i) Prosodic features of the dialects of white West Indian English. Are they similar to the other varieties of English in the West



Indies, or do they reflect features of the dialects of the British Isles?

- (ii) Frequent use of glottal stop realization of /t/. Common in the speech of white Sabans and Barbadians, but less so in white Bequerian English.
- (iii) Contrast between /v/ and /w/ is neutralized as /w/. Present for Bermuda, the Bahamas, Saba and St. Vincent.
  - (a) 'Wirgin Islands' (Cayman Brac).
- (iv) Lengthening of stressed vowels, particularly in white Saban English.
- (v) Region-wide metathesis, as in /ask/ → [æks].  
White Bequerian English also has /film/ → [flim].
- (vi) Distinctive phonetic realization of /i/ as [ɛi~ʒi].  
Only present in white Saban English, as in  
(a) 'tea' [tʒi].

### *Morphology*

- (i) Third person singular -s suffix is generalized to all persons. It needs to be determined whether this relates to the formality of context as has been reported for Bajan (creole) English by Alleyne (1980: 214). For white Saban and white Barbadian English, formality does not seem to be a conditioning factor.
- (ii) In white Saban English, the previous pattern has been extended to non-finite verbs as well. According to Peter Trudgill (pers. com.), this construction is not known or used in the British Isles.
  - (a) 'He has to takes care of she.' (Saba)
- (iii) What is the morphological marking of the plural of nouns? The possibilities range from the standard -s through  $\emptyset$ , which is common in white Saban English and white Vincentian English, to *dem*, the pan-West Indian creole form.

### *Syntax*

- (i) The complementizer *for* is followed by the non-finite verbal marker *to* with no overt constituent separating them.
  - (a) 'They is ready for to come ripe.' (Saba).
  - (b) 'She learn for to do it.' (Bequia).
 This construction, present in some of the white dialects, is the probable source of the *fī* particle in the West Indian creoles.

- (ii) Unaltered word order in interrogative constructions.
  - (a) 'Why you can't do it?' (Saba).
  - (b) 'Where you's from?' (Saba).
- (iii) Variable application of a low-level *do* insertion rule.
  - (a) 'I says how I know that?' (Saba).
  - (b) 'How does people manage to live?' (Saba).
  - (c) 'What time you came in?' (Cayman Brac).
- (iv) Highlighting with *tis* (<*it is*) corresponding to the fronting and highlighting that is characteristic of the entire Anglophone creole group with *na/da/a/iz*. Norfolk Island creole also has highlighting with *es* (<*it is*) (Hancock 1984: 29).
  - (a) 'Tis is beautiful morning.' (Saba).
  - (b) 'Es I nor bin si you fe too long.' (Norfolk).

### CONCLUSION

The study of the dialects of white West Indian English is necessary before a full account of the linguistic history of the Caribbean region can be developed. A prerequisite to such a study is the delineation of periods of sociolinguistic history and the determination of the linguistic 'ingredients' present during each. Otherwise, the results will always be skewed in favor of an African influence while attribution to multiple influences might be more correct.

The varieties of white West Indian English are paradigm examples of the various dialect contact situations that took place in the region. These dialects have been influenced by internal migrations and contacts with the surrounding creole languages. However, it is my contention that these varieties were never creolized. The presence of creole features can be attributed either to contact, or to shared retentions, and not to the process of decreolization as has previously been argued (cf. Ryan 1973).

### NOTES

\* Field research for this paper in Saba, St. Vincent, and Bequia was supported in part by the Graduate School of The University of Texas at Austin and The Organization of American States. I would like to thank these institutions for their generous support.

1. Glenn Gilbert, Bob Le Page, Jim Ryan, Gilbert Sprauve, and Keith Walters have given me valuable comments on this paper during its development. John Baugh, Ian

Hancock, John Holm, Joel Sherzer, Peter Trudgill, and Peggy Williams provided particularly detailed comments for which I am grateful. Jim Ryan also gave me access to his collection of field recordings from Barbados, the Bay Islands, and the Cayman Islands for which I owe him a debt of thanks. Any errors of interpretation are attributable solely to the author.

2. It is interesting to note that these negative attributes were soon to be applied to the African slaves of particular regions in Africa as well.
3. A number of counter-arguments have been developed, most notably by M. Alleyne, R. Allsopp, F. Cassidy, and J. Rickford.
4. See Williams (in preparation) for more on this.
5. Refer to the brief discussion by Price (1962) for details.
6. See Williams (in preparation).
7. Emphasis mine.
8. Highfield (1979) also discusses the preference for isolation and the lack of intermarriage among the French-speaking whites of Carenage, St. Thomas.
9. See Williams (in preparation) for more on "the ethnography of speaking white West Indian English."

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## SOURCES OF NDJUKA AFRICAN VOCABULARY\*

Identification of historical sources of features of a language may focus on particular items (phones, morphemes) or on particular relationships and structures (relative clauses, serial verb constructions, vowel systems). What humankind shares universally either by genes or environment may significantly constrain the latter, as Bickerton, for example, has so imaginatively explored (1981). Likewise, universals of speech production and perception put limits on the inventory of phones to be found in any human language. By contrast, the morphemes found in different languages vary considerably from language to language, within mostly phonologically imposed limits.

These considerations suggest that while study of syntactic structures of, for example, some creole languages may reveal a good deal about the human language capacity in general, it is correspondingly difficult to use for identifying historical sources of those creoles. Conversely, study of the form and meaning of individual lexical items in various languages will tell us less about human language generally, but will be correspondingly easier for us to use for historical purposes. Both areas of inquiry are worthy of our serious attention. In this paper I engage primarily in the more straightforward historical question, Where do particular lexical items in Ndjuka<sup>1</sup> come from? In particular, I am looking at those items that appear not to be of European (English, Dutch, Portuguese, French) or Amerindian (Cariban, Arawak) origin – i.e., those that I consider reasonable candidates for being of African origin.

Study of the lexicons of West Atlantic, or circum-Caribbean, creoles has so far identified or hypothesized two major African sources of

lexical items: Kwa (especially Akan and Ewe-Fon) and Bantu (especially kiKongo). Cassidy and Le Page (1967, 1980) on Jamaican and Daeleman (1972) on Saramaccan, respectively, come readily to mind.

In investigating historical sources of lexical items in a West Atlantic creole, there are some specific methodological traps one must avoid. A common one has been to give preference to one source over another for an item that by formal and semantic criteria could have reasonably come from either of two (or more) sources. When one's bias rules out European etyma in favor of African ones, as appears to have happened frequently in Delafosse (1925), in some of Lichtveld's examples (1928-1929), and even occasionally in Daeleman's work<sup>2</sup> (1972), we have a case of what some would leap to call substratomania. By contrast, substratophobia results in giving the preference to European forms over African ones. Other possibilities include favoring Portuguese over English (see, e.g., Herskovits 1931) or African over Amerindian.<sup>3</sup>

Two other snares are the Scylla-Charybdis pair of casting one's net too wide in Africa, pulling in all sorts of languages that are unlikely to have been represented in the slave trade to a particular New World destination, and on the other hand looking at only a small number of African languages and drawing too specific conclusions about sources of particular West Atlantic items (see Dalby 1971, R. Price 1975: 472). Research into shipping records and other sources about how many slaves were shipped when to which immediate and ultimate New World destination from which African ports drawing on which parts of the African hinterland can now tell us quite a bit about which languages are likely or unlikely to have been included in the background of a particular creole. Postma's work (1970, 1972, 1975, 1976), much of which is summarized by R. Price (1976), has been especially helpful with regard to the Dutch slave trade, which during the eighteenth century shipped the vast majority of its human cargo to Suriname.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, such research cannot rise above the accuracy and specificity of its sources, which must often remain limited. For example, Falconbridge (1788: 13) mentions

the extreme care taken by the black traders to prevent the Europeans from gaining any intelligence of their modes of proceeding; the great distance inland from whence the negroes are brought; and our ignorance of their language (with which, very frequently, the black traders themselves are equally unacquainted).

The other danger mentioned above, that of preferring one potential source over another, can never be completely avoided, as long as we remain better acquainted with some sources than others, even if we do

manage to escape ideological biases to which contemporary Afro-American studies may be especially prone. Not only may ignorance of, say, Cariban languages of Suriname encourage us to be too easily satisfied with identifying a particular African source. Also within African languages we may have excellent resource material on one language but virtually none on another, closely related one that from an extralinguistic historical standpoint is an equally likely source of, for example, Ndjuka items.<sup>5</sup>

Careful attention to sound correspondences can obviously narrow the range of likely sources in many cases. An additional dimension that may help us sort out at least general categories of sources – European vs. African vs. Amerindian – is that of domain of vocabulary. We have some knowledge of activities carried out on plantations, for example, and may take some assumptions about topics likely to be handled between European and African interlocutors. On such a basis we can expect certain semantic domains to reflect heavier European influence, others to reflect more input from African sources – and in the case of Suriname, at least, others from Amerindian languages. Not only can these expectations suggest where to look hardest if we are interested in, for example, African origins. They also must be taken into account when trying to decide between, say, an African and a European source for the same creole item.

For this study I have assumed the following about Suriname plantation slaves:

- 1) Some activities important to them, though carried out fairly openly, were not discussed in much detail with their white overseers and masters, simply because the latter were not interested – e.g., drumming and dancing.
- 2) Some activities important to them were more deliberately kept hidden from white surveillance, and hence seldom if ever spoken about with whites – e.g., medicine preparation and sorcery.
- 3) Items and activities of European but not African culture came into the slaves' experience only through contact with the whites (or with other slaves who had encountered them through contact with whites) and their languages – e.g., sugar cultivation and European articles of clothing.
- 4) Many areas of plantation life were not culture specific, but common to all – e.g., common human activities such as eating, sleeping, and sex, and major features of the natural environment such as common birds, water, and sky. In these areas a high proportion of lexical items



were taken into the developing creoles from the languages of the masters.

5) Nevertheless, even in the sorts of areas mentioned in (4), the more specific meanings were more likely to be labeled by the slaves by some non-European form (see R. Price 1976: 36n). For example, generic *fisi* 'fish' < *fish*, *foo* (Sranan *fowru*) 'bird' < *fowl*, *bon* 'tree' < Dutch *boom*, and *udu* 'tree' < *wood* all show clear European origins, while a large number of specific flora and fauna names do not.

6) Items of the natural environment encountered not on the plantations but only later in the interior had little chance of being labeled by European forms, except by compounding or other semantic expansion of already adopted forms (see Hancock 1980).

7) Activities and items learned from Amerindians, whether on the plantations or after escape, were frequently labeled by Amerindian (chiefly Cariban) forms – e.g., fish poisons and implements used in the processing of cassava.

These assumptions have led me to assume as a practical guide a division of domains as follows:<sup>6</sup>

*European etyma likely*: aspects of everyday plantation life known by both slaves and masters and spoken about between the two groups; generic terms for items of the natural environment of the plantations; and items of European cultural origin.

*Amerindian etyma likely*: items of material culture borrowed from Indians, either directly or through contact with Indian wares bought by plantation owners (Neumann 1967: 73) and specific terms for some items of the natural environment of the interior.<sup>7</sup>

*African etyma likely*: items of social, religious, and material culture "retained" from Africa or developing within the nascent black societies; specific terms for some items of the natural environment of the plantations and of the interior; and aspects of everyday life that slaves wished to keep at least partly secret from Europeans.

I return now to the question of where in Africa the first Ndjukas (or their African-born parents) may have come from. During the entire Atlantic slave trade period slaves were taken by several nations from coastal ports all the way from the Senegambia to Angola. These ports in turn drew on areas of varying depths into the interior. Patterson, in reference to the slaves of Jamaica, concludes that "Apart from the two extremities of the trading areas of the west coast – the Senegal and Congo rivers – few of the slaves came from an area more than two or three hundred miles inland" (1967: 126). But of the second of these extremes Falconbridge (1788: 12) writes,

The unhappy wretches thus disposed of, are bought by the black traders at fairs, which are held for that purpose, at the distance of upwards of two hundred miles from the sea coast; and these fairs are said to be supplied from an interior part of the country. Many negroes, upon being questioned relative to the places of their nativity have asserted, that they have travelled during the revolution of several moons, . . . before they reached the places where they were purchased by the black traders. At these fairs, which are held at uncertain periods, but generally every six weeks, several thousands are frequently exposed to sale, who had been collected from all parts of the country for a very considerable distance round.<sup>8</sup>

Yet the relative importance of languages of the hinterland in developing the West Atlantic creoles may well have been reduced by the practice of keeping slaves on the coast for some period, where they used the predominant local languages for intergroup communication: ki-Mbundu, kiKongo, Ewe-Fon, Akan (Goodman 1983: 6-7).

For our investigation of Ndjuka, fortunately, we may concentrate on the Dutch slavers headed for Suriname from the beginning of the eighteenth century through around 1760 (R. Price 1976: 30-31). Goodman suggests, however, that the Ndjuka "and their language, . . . in all probability, were fairly well established by 1740" (1983: 47). I consider this likely, under the assumption that later joiners of such a society would have been more in a position to conform to already relatively established usage than to introduce innovations, with the possible exception of lexicon in some specialized areas of expertise. Looking at the total Dutch trade from Africa during this period (most of which went to Suriname, as we have seen above), we find<sup>9</sup> the Loango/ Angola region contributing about 30% of the slaves before 1730, decreasing toward 24% for the period 1730-1749. The Slave Coast's proportion was as high as 50% at the beginning of the century, dropping to 32% in 1726-1735, then to only 1% for the rest of the century. At the same time the proportion from the Gold Coast rose from 17% to 26%, while that of the Windward and Ivory Coasts rose from nothing to 49%. (From at least 1740 to 1760, slaves taken from the Windward and Ivory Coasts outnumbered those from the Gold Coast by nearly 2 to 1.<sup>10</sup>)

In addition to the slave trade in the years immediately preceding all the escapes by eventual Ndjukas, we must also take into account how long these slaves may have been on the Suriname plantations before their escape. Ndjuka is, after all, much more similar in lexicon to Sranan than Saramaccan is, encouraging the opinion that "the Djuka were probably at one time Sranan speakers who fled into the bush, there evolving their own distinctive speech" (Hancock 1969: 17).<sup>11</sup> The late Jan Voorhoeve, on the other hand, argues that while Sranan and Saramaccan have a common origin, Ndjuka "must have developed out

of an English Pidgin in the eighteenth century" (1973: 144) in West Africa, not Suriname. R. Price (1976: 39) takes issue with some of Voorhoeve's points, but agrees with his main thesis just cited:

Ndjuka would seem to be the product of later imports who arrived in Suriname with some knowledge of an English (not a Portuguese) Pidgin, who came into a linguistically "supportive" Sranan environment, and who tended to be relatively well-aculturated by the time of their escapes.

Price (1976: 38) also believes that

The original ancestors of the Saramaccan speakers were, demographically, significantly more African (in terms of overall proportions and time in the New World) than those of the Ndjuka speakers, who would have included a significant number of Creoles. This last observation helps explain, I think, both the greater African language influence in Saramaccan than in either Ndjuka or Sranan, and the greater similarities between the latter two languages.

Price's conclusion is compatible with Hancock's notion of the Ndjukas at least having significant contact with Sranan, if not being "Sranan speakers." Yet his reference to "the greater African language influence in Saramaccan than in . . . Ndjuka" must be regarded with caution, apparently being based on the sort of limited information about Ndjuka lexicon available in Huttar 1972, via Voorhoeve 1973. As Price himself elsewhere (1974: 462-63) points out with regard to the proportion of African-derived items in Saramaccan, study of a wider variety of domains of vocabulary shows a greater African (and Amerindian) input than that found in the Swadesh 200-word list. Saramaccan may indeed have a higher proportion of African-derived lexicon than does Ndjuka, but the difference is probably nowhere near as great as is often assumed.

At any rate, if most of the Ndjukas spent from five to twenty years on the Suriname plantations before escaping to the interior, that would entail a higher proportion of them being brought from Slave Coast ports (today's Togo and Benin), and fewer from the Windward and Ivory Coasts (today's Ivory Coast, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Guinea-Bissau; the Dutch had lost their ports in the Senegambia region by 1680).

Whatever the precise proportions of slaves from these various parts of West and Central Africa, whatever factors other than sheer numbers may have affected the degree to which different groups and individuals influenced the development of Ndjuka, and whatever restructuring and

relexification it may have undergone in contact with Sranan, we are still faced with the possibility of input from Bantu languages of Loango and Angola, Kwa and Gur (Voltaic)<sup>12</sup> languages of the Gold and Slave Coasts, and Kru,<sup>13</sup> West Atlantic, and Manding languages from the Ivory and Windward Coasts.<sup>14</sup>

I report in this paper chiefly on research in progress on Kwa- and Bantu-derived items in Ndjuka, but also include some information on possible etyma in other language groups. In the list that follows, the occurrence of a particular language name does not constitute a claim that that specific language is the historical source of the Ndjuka item in question. Such precision will seldom be possible, given the time gap between the capture of the Ndjukas' ancestors and the available descriptions of African languages, and given the often substantial lexical similarities among neighboring languages, sometimes over a wide area. The latter factor means that such precision may be not only impossible, but also undesirable: there is no a priori reason for assuming a single source for each Ndjuka item, rather than two or more mutually reinforcing sources (including, for that matter, African and European or Amerindian sources). Particularly in the case of possible Bantu sources, where I have adduced kiKongo forms almost exclusively, but also for the other languages listed, a particular language name is intended as an example of a possible source within a group of languages. (Since many groups of Bantu languages are notorious for their mutual similarity, I have occasionally included references to languages, such as Luganda, that do not seem on non-linguistic grounds to be likely sources of Ndjuka items, in order to reinforce the notion that the frequent mention of kiKongo is not meant as a specific claim about that language.<sup>15</sup>)

Most of the Ndjuka forms listed below are fairly close in form and meaning to the sample etyma listed. Occasionally, however, I have included items, such as the very first one below, for which the connection is less obvious. In such cases the formal and semantic deviations are well within the range of those amply attested for borrowing among languages where historical documentation of the loan is available. While at the present state of our knowledge such putative borrowings are difficult to prove or disprove, I thought it useful to include a few such cases to illustrate a wider range of possibilities that we must take into account than those that are both formally and semantically straightforward.

	<i>Ndjuka</i> <sup>16</sup>	<i>Kwa</i> <sup>17</sup>	<i>Bantu</i> <sup>18</sup>	<i>Other</i>
<u>Mammals:</u>				
	bongó 'armadillo sp. ( <i>Euphractus</i> <i>pichiy</i> )'	Twi ò-bón 'hole, animal den' <i>Atyc bonkò</i> 'tortue terrestre'	K bongo 'lézard rayé dans les maisons' bóngo 'genou, tortue'	
	nyuundú 'otter'		K ñ-yuundú 'otter'	
	nzaú 'elephant'		K nzawu 'elephant'	
	pingí 'mouse'		K mpingí, phīngi 'mouse'	
	púkúsu 'bat'		K lu-mpukusu, mpūkuni 'bat'	
<u>Birds:</u>				
	akpansa, akwansa 'macaw, parrot'			Kambari āgbāsāwa 'parrot'
	kitikoóma 'small hawk sp.'	Gā à-klomá 'hawk sp.'	K nkiti- nkiti 'foulque, morelle, oiseau échassier'	
	mbakí 'bird of prey sp.'		K nuni a mbáki 'oiseau de proie' mbáki 'celui qui prend'	
	mbukóko 'ibis, flamingo'		K mbulokoóko 'blue plantain eater'	
	mpiye 'toucan'		K mpiya 'un oiseau'	
	paaká 'chachalaca'		K m-pàka 'a wood-grouse'	
	sansankila 'curve-billed scythebird; long- tailed tyrant'		PB -kila 'tail' K nsanza 'un petit oiseau'	
	tótómbotí 'woodpecker sp.'		K tóótánti, ntoto ñti 'woodpecker'	
<u>Reptiles:</u>				
	ángama 'lizard sp.'	Adangme agama Ewe āgāma 'chameleon'		

<i>Ndjuka</i> <sup>16</sup>	<i>Kwa</i> <sup>17</sup>	<i>Bantu</i> <sup>18</sup>	<i>Other</i>
anyooká 'snake spp. (e.g., <i>Sibon nebulata</i> )'		K nyóka 'serpent' CB -jóká, -yókà, -nyókà	
koo 'turtle'	Ewe klò Gɛ̃ è-kló Gu òklo		
loléngi <sup>19</sup> 'snake spp. ( <i>Oxybelis aeneus</i> , <i>O. argenteus</i> )'	Ewe lengee 'tall, thin'	PB lenge 'be slack, dangle away (to and fro)' K lu-lèngi 'un serpent vert'	Themne lin 'hang down'
mboma 'boa constrictor'		K, Ngangela mboma 'python'	
vodú 'snake spp. (e.g., <i>Crotalus durissus</i> )'		K ñ-vóólú 'a small snake'	
<i>Fish:</i>			
bongoni 'fish sp.'			Mende bóngà 'a small fish'
síba 'minnow'	Awutu sriba 'cowry'		
<i>Invertebrates:</i>			
anainsi 'spider'	Akan anansi Awutu, Twi ananse Abroon ànānzi? 'spider'		
babé 'but- terfly'	Baule abɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ 'butterfly'	K ki-mbɛ̀mba- mbɛ̀mba, ki-mbɛ̀mbele 'papillon' kM ki-mbiambia & variants, 'butterfly'	
goóngóon 'millipede'	Twi ā-kōrōŋ 'kind of beetle'	PB -kongoŋo, -ŋongolo 'millipede'	
makonkón 'grasshopper'		K kónko, pl. -ma 'sauterelle (en général)'	
mukukútu 'small ant sp.'		K mu-kūkutu 'fourmi noire ...'	
mulálá 'centipede'		K mwalálá 'centipede'	
nkóla 'snail'		k nkódya; kóola 'snail'	

<i>Ndjuka</i> <sup>16</sup>	<i>Kwa</i> <sup>17</sup>	<i>Bantu</i> <sup>18</sup>	<i>Other</i>
pokopóko 'cicada'	Yor. alatampoko 'cigale'		
saasáa 'shrimp, lobster'	Awutu asasaw 'lobster'	K nsála 'homard, écrevisse, crustacé, crevette, langouste'	
tyándáman 'honeybee'		K tyánda 'mettre qqch. en rangs'	
vongovóngo 'biting fly'		K fūngununu 'bourdon'	Mooré vounou- vougou 'the black mud wasp'
<i>Plants:</i>			
agáu (edible leaf and root)	Akan akáu 'prepared coco yam'		
baána 'plantain'	Anyi bána		
babadúa 'reed sp.'	Twi babadua 'reed'		
bandá edible leaf and root	Yor. bānjí, 'yam sp.'	K bānda nzazi 'une plante'	
bukú 'mold, mushroom'		K buuku 'champignon (en gén.)'	
fubu 'broad-bladed grass, used for weaving mats: seed head of pineapple plant'		K fubu 'ananas ... une sorte de tapis (en fibres d'ananas)'	
kimbotó 'tree sp. with edible fruit'		K ki-botó 'a tree (having ironwood) mbóoto 'banane verte'	
masísá 'ginger-like plant sp.'		K ma-susá 'woodginger', ma-sisa-sisa 'vegetal nain à fruit rouges'	
matáki 'tree sp.; pitch'		K na taki 'sombre (de ciel) ki taki 'indigène très noir'	

<i>Ndjuka</i> <sup>16</sup>	<i>Kwa</i> <sup>17</sup>	<i>Bantu</i> <sup>18</sup>	<i>Other</i>
matungá máka 'plant with thorns in its leaves: <i>Solanum crinitum</i> Lam.'		K ma-tunga nyundu 'esp. de plantes'	
musokoo 'young palm leaves'		K mi-sóko 'des feuilles tendres nouvellement poussées'	
nekó 'vine used for fish poison ( <i>Lonchocarpus</i> sp.) <sup>20</sup>		K ñ-néku	
nkatú 'large woody vine sp.'		K ñkatu 'esp. d'arbre'	
pempén 'grass sp.'		K vémbé 'buisson...'	
pindá 'peanut'		K phinda 'arachide' Yombe pinda	
póngó 'fruit of a vine'		K pongo-pongo 'vine(?) sp.: <i>Cissus rubiginosa</i> '	
tási 'palm leaves used for thatch' <sup>21</sup>		K tási 'rameau, ramille'	
<i>Natural inanimate objects:</i>			
b(u)wíngi 'fog, dust'		K mbùngì 'brouillard, brume épaisse, obscurité'	
kukusa 'red dirt'		K kùku sama 'grande termitière' kM u-kusu 'redness' Ko -kusuka 'become red'	
muntyáma 'rainbow'		K mu-kyáma 'rainbow'	
pémbá 'white clay (used ritually)'		K pèmba 'être, devenir blanc' phèmbé 'craie' B lu-vemba, pl. mpemba 'pipe clay'	



<i>Ndjuka</i> <sup>16</sup>	<i>Kwa</i> <sup>17</sup>	<i>Bantu</i> <sup>18</sup>	<i>Other</i>
petepéte 'mud'	Yor. <u>petepete</u> 'boue'	K pete-pete 'slimy'	
puulú 'bubble'		K pulúlu 'bubble'	
<i>Body parts:</i>			
ágba, ágwa 'lower jaw'	Igbo àgbà 'jaw'		
agana 'thigh'			Bisa gan 'leg'
alaka 'cheek'		K láka, pl. ma- 'cou; col, gorge' B e-laka 'throat, neck'	
bánsa 'side, rib'		K mbaansya 'ribs, side' Orungu obántsà, pl. abántsà 'rib'	Mankany u-ban 'side'
búba 'skin'	Yor. bubá 'short, loose garment' Baule bui 'bark (skin)' PWN -KWUBA 'skin'	K búuba 'habit; petit morceau de toile porté par une femme ...'	Mandingo bubá 'blouse' Wolof buba 'garments'
bwebwé 'fontanel'	Nupe bwò 'be soft'	K mbwèbwe 'qui est mal mûr, non développé'	
dyońku 'hip'	Awutu ndjonku Twi agyonku		
fukufúku 'lungs'	Yor fùkùfùkù 'lungs'		
kúmba 'navel'		CB -kóbù, -kóbù 'navel'	
mantámá 'cheek'		K táma, pl. ma- 'joue'	
manungú 'en- larged testicle'		K ma-dúungu 'hydrocele' nūnguka 'qui a un gros ventre saillant'	
mapaapí 'wing'		K pāpi, pl. ma- 'aile'	
<i>Bodily actions and conditions:</i>			
bwáśígwási 'leprosy'		K bwási 'lepre ...'	

<i>Ndjuka</i> <sup>16</sup>	<i>Kwa</i> <sup>17</sup>	<i>Bantu</i> <sup>18</sup>	<i>Other</i>
dyónko 'doze'	Twi tò ñkó 'doze'		
fulá 'blow, spray'		K fùla 'to blow on (a charm)'	Kasem fùli, Buli fuli 'blow'
káku 'stutter'		K káku 'qui gène, qui fait obstacle' kōkoma, kūkuma 'bégayer'	
katanga 'cramp, foot asleep'		K nkatángá 'cramp, engour- dissement d'une jambe'	
kookóo 'cough'	Twi ñ- kōŋkōn 'dry cough, whooping cough' Idoma kòò.kò 'cough'	kM ka- kohokoho 'cough'	Akasele kòo Sup'ide kòo, 'cough'
kumá 'defecate'	Chakosi kúmà 'hole', àbù kúma 'anus' Aizi kumu 'cul'	K kũuma 'grogner (comme un porc)'	
laú 'insane'		K lāu 'aliéné, idiot, imbécile, fou ...' B lau 'madness'	
(meke) múwa 'to yawn' (meke 'make')		K mwà 'le trou, l'espace ouvert après que les dents ont été arrachés à la mâchoire supérieure'; CS *-mùà, *-mùà 'mouth'	
nyan <sup>22</sup> 'eat'	(widespread in W. and C. Africa, with meanings 'meat', 'game', 'animal')		Wolof nyam Fula nyama 'eat'
tikotiko 'hiccough'	Gã, Awutu tikòtikò	K siku-siku 'hoquet'	
túfée 'blow water in a spray; spit'			Temne thuf, Wolof tuf 'spit'

<i>Ndjuka</i> <sup>16</sup>	<i>Kwa</i> <sup>17</sup>	<i>Bantu</i> <sup>18</sup>	<i>Other</i>
<u>Artifacts:</u>			
afiti, aviti 'animal trap sp.'	Twi afidie 'animal trap, machine' Awutu efiri 'animal trap(?)'		
apaki 'gourd container'	Twi apákyi, calabash with a cover; also the whole calabash'	K pháki 'petit entonnoir'	
apintin 'message drum'	Akan, Twi mpintin 'drums'		
awidjá 'medicine man's wand'	Twi/Awutu (?) ewuja 'animal tail'		
búngú 'earthenware jar'		K ki-búungu 'earthen- ware jar'	
djémba (koosi) 'cloth worn by men across one shoulder' (koosi 'cloth')		K dyémba ê[tre] suspendu, au dessus'	
doodó 'chamber pot'	Adangme dudo 'large water pot, cooler'	K dóodo 'petite corbeille (panier) assez haute'	
gá 'arrow'	Ewe ga 'arrow'		
kandú 'charm against theft'		K kàndu 'interdict- tion, ... défense'	
keké 'wheel'	Yor. kèké 'wheel, bicycle'		
kenti 'house where oracle made of cloth is stored'	Akan kenté 'cloth for religious and other ceremonial purposes' Gã kènté 'cotton-cloth'		
ketebe 'mat'	Abron kete, Twi kete 'mat'		
kiikii 'branched stick for mixing food'	Chumburu kii 'turn'		
kóndi 'bent stick; statue'	Nkonya konton-kye 'bend, crook' Twi kòntón 'bend, crook'	K Nkóndi 'statue, idole de bois plus grande' B nkondi 'a fetish image'	

<i>Ndjuka</i> <sup>16</sup>	<i>Kwa</i> <sup>17</sup>	<i>Bantu</i> <sup>18</sup>	<i>Other</i>
kpàkpá, kwàkwá 'plank struck by sticks to accompany dancing'	Aizi kpakpa 'baguettes de bambou que les femmes frappent en groupe et en mesure'		
kúla 'boat pole, used by <i>kulaman</i> at front of boat'		K nkúla 'à la tête, devant ...; pulsion, course; rapi- dement' kula 'renvoyer, chasser'	
kwáma 'blowgun'	Aizi kpama 'canne' ( <i>'comme dans toutes les langues lagu- naires'</i> )		
masanga 'hut; store- room'		K sánga, pl. ma- 'cabane (de verdure)'	
masúa 'fishtrap'		K ma-swá 'fishtrap'	
mbangula, pangula 'wooden tool used in weaving fish nets'		K mpāngula 'un petit bout de bois pointu ...'	
mpetó "'tail" part of fishtrap; vine'		K phétó 'piège; la longue perche qui est pliée et serrée dans un piège'	
mutete 'woven back- pack'		K mutete 'long panier pour y porter des fardeaux, etc.' kiLuba mutete 'liane- bambou, employé pour tresser des nattes'	
ndiká 'fishtrap'		K ndika 'une nasse'	
obía 'charm, medicine'	Awutu obire 'charm' Efik ubio '... charm to cause sickness or death'		

<i>Ndjuka</i> <sup>16</sup>	<i>Kwa</i> <sup>17</sup>	<i>Bantu</i> <sup>18</sup>	<i>Other</i>
pángá 'badge; fruit sp. (both crescent-shaped)'		CB -pággá 'bush-knife'	
putukéle 'cloth worn across shoulder'		Ko Putulukaale 'Portuguese' B Mputu 'Portugal ... Europe; and also cloth'	
puulú 'short-handled adze used for hollowing out dugouts'		K pūula 'éventrer'  būula 'ouvrir, dépecer .... couper en long'	
saká 'rattle'	Aizi jaka 'maracas ....	K sàka 'secouer, agiter, vanner les arachides, les haricots, etc ...' sàka-sàka 'secouer' kM ki-saka 'rattle'	
sengee (néfi) 'handleless knife' (néfi 'knife')		K sengele 'outil démanché; lame sans manche'	
tutú 'horn'		K túutu 'bamboo, tube, pipe, flute'	
<i>Foods:</i>			
afufu 'mashed bananas, etc.'	Alladian, Yor. fufú 'meal prepared from grated cassava' Akan fufú Awutu fufu Ewe fufúú Twi fufúo	K mfūmfu 'qqch. d'écrasé ... farine; cassave transformée en farine'	
doku 'cookie; mashed cooked plantains'	Abbey òdúkò 'dish of banana or tuber and sauce' Twi ɔ-ɔ̀kono 'boiled maize bread'		
kpokpó, kwokwó 'dumpling soup'	Akan kókó 'porridge'		

<i>Ndjuka</i> <sup>16</sup>	<i>Kwa</i> <sup>17</sup>	<i>Bantu</i> <sup>18</sup>	<i>Other</i>
	Ewe, Fante, Gã, Twi kpokpoi 'steamed cornmeal'		
óníkí 'honey'		CB -yíkì 'honey, bee' PB -nukì 'bee'	
tontón 'mashed bananas'; tontón tiki 'stick for pounding food'		K ntóoto 'banane mûre; légumes en général'	Ngangam tô, North Toussian to.ŋ 'pound'
<i>Other:</i>			
ádúu, átúu 'greeting accom- panying embrace'	Twi atuu 'greeting, embrace' (also Gã?)		
ákáa 'soul, shadow'	Twi akra 'soul'		
awasá 'dance sp.'			Hausa wasá 'play'
bakaá 'white man; outsider'	Ibo, Efik mbakára 'white man'		
búku 'dig up uproot'		CB pýk- 'dig up, fling up (earth)' K bükula 'verser dans, dehors, hors; répandre'	
bunduka 'lean over (e.g., of trees)'		K bünduka < bündula 'tomber par terre; ... è[tre] déraciné' Luganda kù-bünduka 'be on a slant; hang over'	
dadá 'father'	Twi dádá-w, Awutu dāda 'father'		Kulango dà, dá, Lyele da, Gola ó-dāda 'father'
djúku 'poke, stab'			Fulani jukka 'spur, poke'
fón <sup>23</sup> 'strike'	Yor. fò 'strike'		Mooré fòn 'bump into, collide'

<i>Ndjuka</i> <sup>16</sup>	<i>Kwa</i> <sup>17</sup>	<i>Bantu</i> <sup>18</sup>	<i>Other</i>
gandá 'open, public parts of village'		K ngánda 'place ouverte et nettoyée dans un village; la place publique; cour ...	
kina 'taboo; (allergy?)'		K nkínda 'force superstitieuse des fétiches', ki-ina 'dartre (herpes) et maladies de la peau analogues'	
kokó 'knob, protuberance'	Yor. kóko 'knot on tree, knob, excrecence'	K kóko 'croûte (d'ulcère, de blessure)'	Delo baŋ,- kokó 'elbow' (bám 'forearm')
kulú 'group, crowd'	Gā nkulo 'assembly'	Kñkúlu 'quantité, abondance'	
kunu 'avenging spirit'		K kúnu 'ancêtre'	
kwíkwì 'push in with rotating motion'	Chumburu kwì 'dig'		
m(a)má 'mother'		K maamá 'mother'	Akpafu, mámá, Limba, Landoma mama 'mother'
mbálu 'wood chip'		K mbálu 'latte, copeau, éclat de qqch.; suie, etc. qui tombe'	
mená 'press, squeeze'			Lelemi mena 'press, squeeze'
nongo 'proverb, parable'		K nóngo 'parabole, proverbe, fable, conte'	
papá 'father'	Gā pápa 'father'		Lelemi pápá 'father'
píí 'ideophone for quiet, motionless'		K píí 'calme, tranquillité, paix'	

<i>Ndjuka</i> <sup>16</sup>	<i>Kwa</i> <sup>17</sup>	<i>Bantu</i> <sup>18</sup>	<i>Other</i>
píngi 'pinch' <sup>24</sup>	Nupe 'píng' 'press, squeeze'		
póba 'shrivelled, rotten'		K pòba 'qui se caisse, se fend'	
potopóto 'soft, weak; muddy'	Yor. potopótò 'boue' Baule pòtópótò 'dirt, morass, mud'	K poto-poto 'mou, peu compact, moelleux .... marais, marécage ...'	
tatá 'father (rare)'	Ewe à-tátà, tátà 'father (form of address)'	K taatá 'father'	Delo tata 'father'
temekú stubborn; clam'		K tèmuka 'è[tre] ou se mettre en colère très vite, ... serrer, pincer (les levres, ...)'	
títítí 'ideophone for "tiny"'	Ewe títí 'small' Igbo ù.títí 'small'		Diola titi, tit 'small'
tjakatjáka 'messed up, pointing in all directions'		K tyákka, tyāka 'séparer, dispenser (des choses) en désordre'	
tjóbo 'dirty'		K tsobo, cf. nsòbo 'saleté ...; vaseux, boueux, ... tout sale, ...'	
tóín 'ideophone for "tiny"'	Yor. tin 'small', tintintín 'tiny, minute'		
tóko 'war'	Nupe tòkó 'curse'		Diola- Fogny tuk-o 'curse'
tyalí 'regret'		K ky-ali 'compassion'	
wowójo 'market'		K wówo 'foule, multitude ...'	



At this point in our research, lists such as this one cannot be pressed for valid statistical comparisons. For example, we may note a preponderance of Bantu over Kwa sources for several semantic domains, but their exact proportions can only be guessed at, given that I have used a more extensive source (Laman 1936) for a Bantu language than for any Kwa language. Nevertheless, several worthwhile conclusions can be drawn from the above list:

1. As intimated above, the African contribution to the Ndjuka lexicon is significantly greater than a list like that in Huttar 1972 would indicate.

2. The dominance of Kwa sources of the African-derived vocabulary of other West Atlantic creoles is clearly not demonstrated for Ndjuka. In fact, if the above proportions turn out to be anywhere near typical of the African-derived lexicon as a whole, the Bantu contribution appears to be much greater than our knowledge of slave origins would lead us to expect. This result suggests that either the proportion of Ndjukas coming from Angola and Loango was higher than historical studies have so far indicated, or that, at least for several semantic domains, slaves from that area had a disproportionate influence on the developing lexicon.

The first of these possibilities illustrates the potential value of a linguistic study such as this one for non-linguistic historical research: some of the gaps in our knowledge of where slaves came from may be partly filled by clear lexical (or other linguistic) evidence to a specific portion to the West and Central African coast. The second possibility calls to our attention how little we know of the sociology of creolization with regard to the interaction of individuals and groups within the socially subordinate group. In particular, what sort of factors determine which individuals or groups carry the most influence in choice of lexicon as the language is pressed into service on more and more topics?

3. It is also evident from the above list that many sources outside Kwa and Bantu must be taken into account. Several Gur languages, as well as some Togo Remnant, West Atlantic, and Mande (or Mukarovsky's Western Guinean and Mel) languages, are included. Since the research on which the list is based has included only limited examination of reference materials on these other languages, we can expect that they are fairly underrepresented so far.<sup>25</sup>

4. There are clear differences among the various semantic domains. Thus Kwa etyma predominate in the 'Foods' domain. 'Body parts' is fairly evenly divided among Kwa and Bantu, while Bantu predominates in the various domains of flora and fauna.

## NOTES

\* Material for this paper was gathered during residence in Suriname in 1968-1973, and again for nine weeks in 1981, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The 1981 research received generous support from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research and from the National Endowment for the Humanities. My research was greatly aided by the use of a 47,000-word concordance of Ndjuka texts, produced at the Oklahoma University Research Institute under National Science Foundation Grant No. GS-1605; by access to the Ndjuka dictionary files of James and Joyce Park of SIL in Suriname; and by the patient teaching of Jim Park and many, many Ndjukas. Mary Alice Price, Anne Mitchell, and Brenda Robinson of the Interlibrary Loan Department at the University of Texas at Arlington deserve special thanks for their patient and extensive help. I have benefited from comments by Fred Cassidy, Morris Goodman, Ian Hancock, and Richard Price on an earlier version of the first part of this paper, but must absolve them of the errors that have persisted despite their help. Hazel Carter gave me many helpful suggestions after I presented another version of this paper at the Fifth Biennial Conference of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics in August, 1984, suggestions which have improved the paper a good deal and are acknowledged in the footnotes.

1. Until recently this language was often referred to in the literature as Djuka, and sometimes as Aukan or Aukaans.

2. For example, I take Saramaccan *lompu* and *makaku* to derive directly from Dutch and Portuguese, respectively, rather than from the immediate kiKongo sources he suggests.

3. Thus Herskovits gives Port. *besta* as the source of Sa. *mbeti* 'beast', with no mention of English *meat* (1931: 552). As recently as 1981 I heard proposed that Sranan *kibri* 'hide' derives from Port. *cobrar*, rather than Eng. *kivver*, despite the first vowel and the tone/stress pattern. And in addition to kiKongo *n-neku* as a source of Sa. *ndeku*, ND. *neko* 'vine used for fish poison', one must also consider Carib *ine:ku* (Hoff 1968: 400).

4. "Two of every three Africans transported by WIC ships in the first thirty years of the eighteenth century landed in Surinam and an astounding nine of every ten transported by free-traders from 1730 to 1795 ... the Dutch trade was now almost entirely to Dutch plantations" (Rawley 1981: 97; see also Postma 1976: 242-43).

5. More remotely related or even unrelated languages may also have similar forms through borrowing, thus further complicating the search for specific sources. Coincidental resemblance between forms from unrelated languages may also confuse the picture for individual items.

6. Cf. Cassidy 1981: 18.

7. See Neumann 1967: 90-94 and De Goeje 1908: 215 on post-escape contacts between Ndjukas and especially Trio Indians; cf. R. Price 1983: 48-49, 80, 162-64.

8. See Martin 1972: 116ff. for details on areas from which slaves were brought to the Loango coast. For a very different picture of the slave trade in this area in the nineteenth century, see Curtin and Vansina 1964: 188-89, based on Koelle 1854/1963.

9. The following summary is based on Postma 1975, 1976, with some reference to R. Price 1976.

10. According to Curtin (1975: 114-23), this may be more like 2.6 to 1.

11. Goodman (1983: 47) appears to assume something similar in referring to the Ndjukas' coming primarily from plantations "where Creole English rather than Dju-Tongo was spoken," 'Dju-Tongo' or 'Jew language' being an early designation of the language of the Jewish plantations and eventually of the Saramaccans, notable for its heavy Portuguese element in the lexicon (Goodman 1983: 39-40).

12. Patterson states that it was "the tribes of the interior who supplied the great majority of the slaves from the Gold Coast," mentioning "the Mamprusi, Dagomba, Nankanse, Talense, Isala, Lober and others" (1967: 120) – all with reference to Jamaica, of course. But Goodman cites Ivor Wilks (personal communication) to the effect that "a large majority of slaves shipped from the Gold Coast were Akan speakers," not Gur speakers (1983: 7).

13. Some (e.g., Greenberg 1963) classify Kru as a subset of Kwa, while others (e.g., Westermann and Bryan 1970) treat them as separate groups.

14. Thus for the Ndjuka item *kpakpa* 'duck' we ignore for now *gwagwa* 'duck' from Mbum, an Adamawa-Eastern language of northeastern Cameroon and Chad (Hino 1978: 303). For Jamaican Creole, Mittelsdorf concludes that we should suspect any putative Africanisms from any source except Akan or Bantu (1978: 98).

15. General sources of information used have been Cassidy and Le Page 1967, Koelle 1854/1963, Mukarovsky 1976, and John Bendor-Samuel and Anthony Naden, personal communication. (CB, PB, and PWN below refer to Mukarovsky's Common and Proto Bantu and Proto Western Nigritic, respectively). For Kwa I have used Institut 1979, and for Bantu Guthrie 1967-1971 (CS below refers to Guthrie's comparative series). Specific sources have been Daeleman 1972 and Laman 1936 for kiKongo (K) (with glosses cited in English and French, respectively); Hancock 1980 for Nanding (and for some items in other languages); De Clerq and Willems 1960 for KiLuba; Pearson 1969 for Ngangela; Snoxall 1967 for Luganda; Zimmerman 1858 for Ga; Accam 1966 for Adangme; Williamson 1972 for Igbo; Wakeman 1937/1978 and Baudin 1967 for Yoruba (with glosses cited in English and French, respectively); N. Price 1975 for Chumburu; Stanford and Stanford 1970 for Chakosi; Herault 1971 for Aizi; Hall n.d. for Moore; and interviews and correspondence with native speakers for Akan, Awutu, and Twi. In addition, Hazel Carter has brought to my attention a number of kiMbundu (kM), Kongo (Ko) and kiKongo forms, the last from her own research, from Laman 1936, and from Bentley's *Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language* (1887) and its *Appendix* (1895), sources which I have not seen (indicated with a B in the text). For typographical reasons I have modified the diacritics used in many of the sources.

16. Language classifications and locations (the latter mostly according to Grimes 1984) are given below. Abbreviations: IC: Ivory Coast; TR: Togo Remnant languages; UV: Upper Volta; WA: West Atlantic.

### Kwa

Abbey: IC	Abron: Ghana, IC
Adangme: Ghana	(Aizi - Kru: IC)
Akan (includes Twi): Ghana	Alladian: IC
Anyi: IC, Ghana	Atye: IC
Awutu: Ghana	Baule: IC
Chakosi: Ghana, Togo	Chumburu: Ghana
(Efik - Benue-Congo?: Nigeria, Cameroun)	
Ewe: Ghana, Togo, Benin	Gã: Ghana
Gê: Togo, Benin	Gu: Benin
Idoma (?): Nigeria	Igbo: Nigeria
Nkonya: Ghana	Nupe: Nigeria
Twi: Ghana	Yoruba: Nigeria, Benin, Togo

### Bantu

kiKongo: Angola, Zaire, Congo	kiLuba: Zaire
kiMbundu: Angola	Kongo: Angola, Zaire, Congo
Luganda: Uganda	Ngangela: Angola
Orungu: Gabon	Yombe: Angola, Congo, Zaire

### Other

Akasele - Gur: Togo	Akpafu - TR: Ghana
Bisa - Mande: UV, Ghana	Bowili - TR: Ghana
Buli - Gur: Ghana, UV	Delo - Gur: Ghana, Togo
Diola(-Fogny) - WA: Senegal, Gambia, Guinea Bissau	
Fula(ni) - WA: Senegambia to Nigeria	
Gola - WA: Liberia, Sierra Leone	
Hausa - Chadic: Nigeria, Niger, Cameroon, Togo	
Kambari - Benue-Congo: Nigeria	Kasem - Gur: Ghana, UV
Kulango - Gur: IC, Ghana	Landoma - WA: Guinea
Lelemi - TR: Ghana	
Limba - WA: Sierra Leone, Guinea	Lyele - Gur: UV
Manding - Mande: Senegal, Gambian	
Mankany - WA: Guinea-Bissau, Senegal	
Mende - Manda: Sierra Leone, Liberia	Mooré - Gur: Uv, Togo
Ngangam - Gur: Togo	North Toussian - Gur: UV
Sup'ide - Gur: Mali	Temme - WA: Sierra Leone
Wolof - WA: Senegal, Gambia, Mauritania	

17. The Kwa columns include, for convenience, the Kru language Aizi and Efik, whose assignment to Kwa is disputed.

16. Language classifications and locations (the latter mostly according to Grimes 1984) are given below. Abbreviations: IC: Ivory Coast; TR: Togo Remnant languages; UV: Upper Volta; WA: West Atlantic.
17. The Kwa columns include, for convenience, the Kru language Aizi and Efik, whose assignment to Kwa is disputed.
18. For details on kiKongo sources, see Huttar forthcoming.
19. Cf. *lengelage*, 'dangle'.
20. Cf. Carib *ine:ku* (Hoff 1968: 400).
21. English *thatch* cannot be ruled as a source for *tasi* (see Huttar, forthcoming).
22. Very likely an underlying \**nyam*; cf. *nyami en* 'eat it'.
23. See note above on *nyan*.
24. English *pinch* may (also) be a source.
25. Hancock (1982) argues for the importance of languages from Upper Guinea (e.g., West Atlantic and Manding) in the early stages of the formation of the Anglophone Atlantic creoles. My own examination of his 40-50 items from Manding, Temne, Bambare, etc., however, has found little that relates to the form of Ndjuka lexical items.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*Slave populations of the British Caribbean, 1807-1834.* B.W. HIGMAN. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, Johns Hopkins Studies in Atlantic History and Culture, 1984. xxxiii + 781 pp. (Cloth US\$ 65.00, £ 57.80)

Barry Higman, Professor of History at the University of the West Indies (Mona, Jamaica), whose first book, *Slave population and economy in Jamaica, 1807-1834* won the 1977 Bancroft Prize in American History, has produced another major work of historical scholarship which will be important to all scholars concerned with Caribbean history and with the study of slavery in the Americas. *Slave populations of the British Caribbean, 1807-1834* deals with the patterns of demographic change and material conditions of life and work in the twenty British Caribbean colonies in the years between the ending of the slave trade and the abolition of slavery. Based on prodigious research in numerous archival sources, it presents important new quantitative data for each of the colonies and uses these data, with a variety of other sources – including plantation records, letters, newspapers, travel reports, Colonial Office documents, Parliamentary Papers, and church registers – to provide about the fullest picture yet of slave work, material treatment, and demographic performance that we now have for any part of the world.

Higman is concerned with showing the diversity of slave experience, both between and within colonies, in explaining the central issue of British Caribbean slave experience: the failure of the population to achieve a natural increase. While Higman focuses on the economic

determinants, particularly the nature of the sugar plantation economy, he is sensitive to the wide range of cultural and social variables, and the work provides a framework within which detailed examination of non-material aspects of slave life and culture can be undertaken. Further, Higman has studied the relevant material for other slave societies, so that issues of interest for comparative studies are discussed. In all regards, therefore, this is a landmark work of scholarship, of interest to scholars from a wide range of disciplines.

*Slave populations of the British Caribbean, 1807-1834* is really two books in one. The main text is over 430 pages (including over 1000 footnotes on 34 double-columned pages), with 75 figures (including maps) and 61 tables. The second part is the Statistical Supplement, with 182 tables in over 300 pages, which provides some further data underlying the text and which, by itself, will be of major interest in providing extensive amounts of new information, collected and processed from primary sources. There are, in addition, 26 pages of bibliographic references, including over six pages listing manuscripts in 14 of the former colonies plus the United States and the United Kingdom.

Although a wide variety of primary sources have been utilized, the principal sources used for analysis are the slave registration returns for the various colonies, found in Treasury 71 in the Public Record Office, London (copies of some of which are also available in the Caribbean). Introduced as a result of abolitionist pressure after the closing of the slave trade, registration was intended to prevent smuggling as well as to provide the demographic data to demonstrate the failure of the slave-owners to provide the conditions making for population increase. The starting dates and information collected for each colony differed, with the first collection beginning in 1813, and most others by 1817, with further registrations in each colony, generally at three-year intervals until 1834 (in which year they can be linked to the slave compensation returns). The first registration for each colony listed each slave individually with name and age, and, depending on the colony, could include various other characteristics such as: sex, color, birthplace, height, occupation, and family relations. The subsequent registrations included individual listings of changes in the period since the last registration – births, purchases, deaths, sales, and manumissions – with some including information on the name of the mother, cause of death, and the months of birth and of death.

Since there were about 750,000 slaves in 1813 and 665,000 in 1834, it was impossible to collect information on all the slaves in all the

colonies. (With births and deaths, the estimated number of individuals for whom there is some information is over one million slaves). Higman therefore varied the basis of collection for different comparisons. In some cases he used published or, more often, his compiled totals for each of the colonies, while more refined analysis required detailed compilations from the registration returns. There is relatively little in this work on Jamaica, the largest of the colonies, since many of the issues had been covered in Higman's earlier book. Although Higman used "only a selection of places and periods in detail," the coverage is sufficiently broad and inclusive that the basic comparative analysis is convincing. But, as Higman states, "much is to be learned from following through particular colonies, parishes, or plantations over the entire registration period." For any who pursue this line of work, Higman has provided the details of the methods to be used as well as the necessary information to place such narrower findings in appropriate context.

Higman discusses the nature and reliability of the slave registration data in detail. While he finds that in most cases the information can be used as given (the use of age groupings minimizing the age-heaping problem), he demonstrates that the three-year interval between registrations generally meant an undercount of infant births and deaths. He provides two means of adjustment for these missing births and deaths – one based on the use of model life tables and the other based upon extrapolations from several plantations with apparently complete data – which generally give roughly similar results. While the magnitudes of such adjustments always give rise to some uncertainties, as do the extrapolations of the estimated underregistration rates for one specified period, Higman has done these with care, and with attention to the sensitivity of the results to the procedures.

I have emphasized here the sources and nature of the data analyzed because Higman's work presents a wealth of detail on a large number of major issues, rather than one easily summarized thesis or conclusion. It is true that his interpretations of slave life and demography emphasize the critical role of the conditions of production on the large sugar plantation, but important information and analysis is provided for numerous issues, and much of the interest is in seeing the variability of patterns by location, crops grown, and size of units. Rather than attempt to summarize or discuss the entire range of findings here it will be more useful to present several key conclusions and to point to a number of interesting questions that are posed by the new data.

On the basic issue of demographic performance, the aggregate data for the colonies, even after adjustments, present the familiar pattern.

Among the fifteen sugar colonies, only Barbados had a positive natural increase of its population in this period, as did some of the marginal colonies not involved in sugar production. The rates of decline were highest in the newer sugar colonies, including Trinidad, Tobago, and the colonies that comprise British Guiana. What Higman contributes is his analysis of the details of inter-colony differences, and, within colonies, an examination of the impact of crop type and size of unit.

Both birth rates and death rates varied considerably among the colonies. In Barbados, Bahamas, and Barbuda, slaves had high birth rates, comparable with that of U.S. slaves (with slaves in the first two having much higher death rates than those in the United States). In general, however, most colonies had birth rates in the 30's (per 1000), considerably below that of the U.S. slaves of this time. While the colony aggregates point to higher fertility in the marginal colonies containing small units not producing sugar, the examination of the breakdowns within the colonies suggests that fertility was highest on large-scale sugar units, a finding Higman explains by the greater possibility of family co-residence on larger units. The rising fertility in the period of registration in most colonies (with a notable exception being Trinidad) is consistent with the shift to larger units and the increased importance of creoles (whose fertility was higher than Africans). Mortality was highest on sugar plantations, with particularly high rates for male fieldhands. A detailed analysis of data on mortality and morbidity leads Higman to conclude that the sugar work routines, not just the locational characteristics of the plantations, were crucial. That the patterns are not simple, however, is indicated by the fact that death rates were lowest during the period of sugar harvest, rising to a peak after its completion.

Yet as important as are the specific findings, the detail presented in the analysis is itself of major importance. In the chapters on health and natural increase, for example, the statistical data include information on: age-specific birth and death rates for Africans and for creoles, as well as for different occupations; family patterns, including estimates of the magnitude of cross-plantation matings; causes of death; growth in physical stature; and seasonal patterns of birth, deaths, and morbidity. There are also detailed discussions of medical care, attitudes of planters towards natural increase, and the etiological theories underlying health and medical treatment. And earlier chapters include detailed descriptions and examinations of the distribution of the slave population by crop type and size of units in the different colonies, confirming the general importance of sugar plantations in most and the

concentration of slaves on large units (most sugar colonies having more than one-half the slaves on units of over 100 slaves, Trinidad again being a notable exception). Attention is given to the various other major crops produced as well as to the variety of functions performed even on sugar plantations.

There are numerous distributions of the slave population presented: by age, sex, color, birthplace, rural vs. urban residence, etc. The chapter on "Rural Regimes" provides detailed information on the occupational structure and its differences by age, sex, and color of slaves, and by crops grown. Similar breakdowns are also provided for the approximately ten percent of Caribbean slaves residing in urban areas. In addition there are discussions, drawn from numerous sources, of work organization, hours of work, incentive schemes, and material conditions of life (food, clothing, and shelter) for both rural and urban slaves. These discussions are always informative and judiciously presented, and Higman does not refrain from drawing conclusions about the harshness of slavery in the Caribbean, particularly on sugar plantations. While sensitive to the role and contributions of the slaves themselves, he points to the impact of the conditions of production and of the masters in setting the basic parameters within which slave actions were effective.

There are many areas in which Higman's work has contributed to important questions and in which further work has been shown to be useful. While there are no data on economic variables – such as information on crop outputs for individual units, as there was for Jamaica – the material presented provides an important basis for understanding the economies of the colonies and their changes over time. Besides the major demographic and work-related issues, these include Higman's examination of inter-colonial slave movements after 1807 (revising Eltis's [1972] estimates), which transferred slaves to areas where they had higher values but which were too constrained by legal restrictions to serve as an important mechanism for reallocation of slaves among the colonies; the demonstration of the rapid growth in all colonies in the number of freedmen (particularly dramatic in the new sugar colonies), in part due to increased rates of manumission, but more the result of their apparent high rate of natural increase; and the estimates of the pattern and frequency of the sales and transfers of slaves (about 3 percent per year, particularly high for smaller units and in urban areas). Each reader will no doubt find other data and discussions which contribute to his understanding of Caribbean slavery. Not all will agree with each specific finding and analysis, and some will

want to see data for more areas or time periods before feeling comfortable with Higman's conclusions. Nevertheless all will benefit from seeing the enormous amount of material – quantitative and non-quantitative – presented by Higman, and *Slave populations of the British Caribbean, 1807-1834* will become a basic work for the study of slavery and of Caribbean history.

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*Between black and white: race, politics, and the free coloreds in Jamaica, 1792-1865.* GAD J. HEUMAN. Westport CT: Greenwood Press, Contributions in Comparative Colonial Studies No.5, 1981. 20 + 321 pp. (Cloth US\$ 35.00)

In the last ten years there has been a small flurry of research on the free colored population of the Caribbean, resulting in a number of conference sessions, papers, edited collections, and Ph.D. theses that are now beginning to appear as books. Gad Heuman has been at the forefront of this effort, and his study of the politics of the free colored in Jamaica is one of the most complex and fine-grained pictures that we have to date. Taking politics as his focus, and the House of Assembly as the major arena, Heuman makes extensive and imaginative use of Colonial Office correspondence and local newspapers, as well as private papers and other contemporary chronicles, to analyze the role that the free colored played in Jamaican politics both before and after emancipation.

Heuman begins with an examination of the campaign for civil rights in the pre-emancipation period, and then details the shifting fortunes of the free colored in the political arena after they won full civil rights in 1830. He not only analyzes the issues before the Assembly in this

period, but also traces the careers of the free colored members of the Assembly throughout the entire period. He is thus able to explore an important and interesting question raised by the act of emancipation itself: what happened to the free colored once they were free? Did they, *as free colored*, continue to act in their own interests? Did they, indeed, continue to have definable interests of their own?

Heuman answers yes to both questions, although, as I shall argue below, the evidence he presents certainly seems to allow an alternative interpretation. He argues that, both before and after emancipation, and despite internal divisions, the majority of the people of color played a key role in opposition to the whites, one that revealed them to be *creoles* above all else, dedicated to the future of Jamaica and committed, therefore, to maintaining local institutions – in particular the Assembly itself. The details of this struggle, including the role of the complex and changing relations among the major participants – white plantocracy, free colored opposition, metropolitan power (as represented, not always in harmony, by the governor and the Colonial Office), and, occasionally, the mass of the population – is fascinating in and of itself, as well as for the insights it gives into the more general problem of defining a national identity in a colonial context.

Heuman describes the struggle of the people of color, first to gain full civil rights and then to win a more equitable place for themselves, and in the process shows how the political (and social) fortunes of the people of color first rose and subsequently fell – a finding that should be of comparative interest to those studying other islands. (My own work in Antigua, for instance, charts a similar rise and fall, although in part for different reasons.) In the end, Heuman argues, the project of the free colored failed because they were unable to continue to act together, in their own interests, in the face of the growing intransigence of the whites, who by the end of the period had been able to forge an alliance with both the governor and the Colonial Office.

But why is this seen as a failure – or, more to the point, is there a value judgment implicit in this conclusion, one that results from assuming what must in fact be proved? The question can be posed in reverse: why *should* the free colored have acted as a group? The problem is that by focusing on the free colored as if they *were* a group, Heuman *makes* them a group – and then when they do not act as such, he laments their failure to do so. The focus on color thus masks the role of interests that are frequently equally fundamental. This is exacerbated by the use of color-based terms: “free-colored,” a legal definition in the pre-emancipation period, is of doubtful usefulness afterward, while

the two other terms Heuman uses, "men of color" and "browns," again assume a uniformity that simply is not there. As Heuman shows again and again, the divisions in the Assembly were not between "brown" and white, or even "brown" and black, but between merchant and planter, professional and artisan, town and country; alliances were repeatedly based on broad economic interests, regardless of color (and despite the extent to which color may have defined *social* life). Planter sided with planter, white or not, and merchant with merchant – the long-term and crucial alliance between free colored townsmen and Jews is an important part of the story, as is the internal division among the free colored, between the earliest free colored assemblymen, who tended to be wealthy professionals and planters, and later members, who were often from artisan and trading backgrounds and some of whom were even phenotypically black.

The strength of this study, however, lies not in the argument it presents, but in the extensive research and the wealth of carefully presented detail, which take us one step further along the road to understanding the interrelation of class and color during this seminal period of West Indian history.

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*The banana wars: an inner history of American empire, 1900-1934.*

LESTER D. LANGLEY. Lexington KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1983. VIII + 255 pp. (Cloth US\$ 26.00)

At a time when the U.S. invasion of Grenada is still a recent memory and further U.S. military involvement on the mainland of Central America is a distinct possibility, Lester Langley's survey of American diplomatic and military intervention in this part of the world between the years 1900 and 1934 is a welcome reminder of the modern history of U.S. imperialism in the Caribbean Basin. The book is sub-titled "an inner history of empire," revealing that the perspective adopted is "largely, though not exclusively, the vision of empire . . . held by army, navy and marine officers who led their commands into alien and often hostile Caribbean societies to quell disorders or 'protect American interests.'" These are Langley's heroes, the men who "fought America's banana wars and shaped the character of its empire" (p. 8).



Four major episodes in America's penetration of the wider Caribbean are described. The first concerns the two occupations of Cuba between 1898 and 1912, during which time the U.S. military participated not only in the creation of the new republic but in the revision of its essential political structure. According to Langley, the imperial pro-consuls found the experience frustrating, but "no deterrent to future military intervention in the tropics" (p. 50). The second part shifts the focus to Nicaragua and Mexico and to the period 1909-1915, during which economic and diplomatic pressure failed to bring about the results desired in Washington, again leaving the U.S. military to become the main arbiters of local affairs. The third major episode in America's imperial experience in the Caribbean that Langley considers came in Hispaniola, where by the time of America's entry into World War I the military had established virtually exclusive control over Haitian and Dominican politics, economics, and even cultural values. Finally, the fourth part of the book describes the bitter conflict that took place in Nicaragua in the late 1920s when an imperial force composed largely of marines waged war against the famous Sandino brigade.

Langley's essential thesis is that, although presidents and their secretaries of state were constitutionally responsible for shaping American policy and tried to direct affairs in these various countries, it was, in fact, military conventions and practice that played the critical role in determining the course of America's intervention in the Caribbean. As he puts it, "it was the soldier, not the civilian, who left the most lasting imprint on the occupied" (p. 6). In this respect, it also mattered what uniform the soldier wore. Langley argues that, in ruling America's Caribbean empire, each arm of the service was guided less by a consistent imperial ideology than by its own particular history and traditions: the navy by its role as policeman of the seas and protector of foreign lives, the army by its Indian campaigns in the West and its pacification and governance of Cuba, and the marines by their proud reputation as tough men, pursuers of bandits and rebels.

All this Langley describes in a chatty, folksy style. The military figures that flit across the pages are vividly portrayed, often with the eye of the novelist rather than the academic historian. There is Smedley Butler, known, it seems, as Old Gimlet Eye; Leonard Wood looking every inch a pro-consul; Frederick Funston, a gruff, adventurous Kansan who lost his command for allowing Cuban insurgents to keep the horses they had stolen, and so on. Even the rebels get similar treatment. Sandino, we are told, "projected a becoming modesty beneath his

broad-brimmed Stetson." Indeed, he looked "like an extra in a Tom Mix cowboy film" (p. 194). Langley obviously has a feel for a good story and enjoys telling it.

Unfortunately, his analytic skills have been deployed in the book less assiduously than his powers of description. Only in the epilogue does he begin to debate the underlying issues behind the dramas he has unfolded. Old Gimlet Eye himself is quoted, in a speech given toward the end of his career, as saying that he had spent the last thirty-three years as "a high-class muscle man for Big Business" (p. 217). Yet Langley asserts that U.S. military intervention in the Caribbean did not reflect a simple calculation of economic interest, but rather the widespread and more amorphous belief that "the Caribbean was a disorderly (and unclear) place that needed shaping up" – in short, "the values not of Wall Street but of Main Street" (p. 222). It may indeed be so. This reviewer certainly would not seek to explain U.S. foreign policy in the Caribbean solely by reference to economic determinants. However, to leave discussion of these major questions to a few casual phrases at the very end of the book is not much help to the reader and renders the work ultimately less than adequate as a piece of serious historical analysis.

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*Slavery, war, and revolution: the British occupation of Saint Domingue, 1793-1798.* DAVID GEGGUS. New York: The Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press, 1982. xli + 492 pp. (Cloth US\$ 67.00)

After the First World War, it was generally recognized (in theory if not in practice) that intervention, the attempt of one state to influence the internal and external affairs of another political entity, was a violation of common international law. This was but a gesture in a century when intervention was prevalent. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, however, European states were not impeded by similar legal arguments. In a system of international relations that was competitive in nature, European powers routinely interfered in the affairs of other

political entities – that is, sovereign states and their colonial possessions. René Albrecht-Carrie, one of the leading diplomatic historians, has remarked that revolutionary and Napoleonic diplomacy were at times arbitrary, even crude (1958: 8). Ironically, interventionist states have demonstrated historically an extraordinary lack of wisdom, competence, knowledge, and sensitivity in their determined pursuit of a risk-laden policy. (The United States demonstrated all of these failings in the Vietnam debacle. The same may be said of the Soviet Union's current misadventure in Afghanistan.) Nowhere was this situation more in evidence than in the disastrous British occupation of the wealthy French colony of Saint Domingue (Haiti), from 1793 to 1798. This adventure, which ended in a resounding British defeat and humiliating evacuation of the island in 1798, is the subject of an excellent study by David Geggus.

Fueled in part by the clarion call of the rights of liberty and equality, the ideology of the French Revolution, the slaves of Saint Domingue's Plain du Nord rose against their masters on the night of August 22, 1791. Racial vengeance, killing, and destruction engulfed huge areas of the once-prosperous colony. With France in the grip of revolutionary change, Saint Domingue supporters of white supremacy signed a convention with Britain, transferring their allegiance to Britain in exchange for British intervention. As a direct result of this desperate attempt to regain control of the situation, British troops landed in the colony in September 1793. Eight months later, the British expeditionary force had occupied about a third of Saint Domingue.

British fortunes reached their apogee with the occupation of Port-au-Prince in early June 1794; but they were to tumble inexorably and rapidly. Toward the end of 1795, Britain had irrevocably lost both the political and military initiative; after that British forces were confined mostly to the coast. In spite of a formidable relief in 1796, composed of British troops and German, French, and Dutch mercenaries and representing the largest expedition ever to sail from Britain, several key coastal towns, among them Port-au-Prince, were evacuated by 1798. In October of the same year, the last British soldier left the island in historic defeat.

Professor Geggus' massive examination of Britain's involvement in what is now referred to as the Haitian Revolution, 1791 to 1804, is essentially a study of the flawed effort of William Pitt and Henry Dundas to restore slavery to the colony. In his rigorous analysis of this costly imperial disaster, Geggus focuses on specific crucial aspects of the occupation. These include conflicting creole views toward British

intervention; Britain's civil administration of the colony; the controversial governorship of Sir Adam Williamson and the missions of General John Graves Simcoe and General Thomas Maitland, which ultimately led to evacuation; the demise of Saint Domingue's pre-revolutionary society; and the complexity of the thorny question of the administration of absentee property.

The staggering cost of this debacle is best conveyed in the disease and mortality among British troops, another area given special attention by the author. Compared to the brutal standards of twentieth-century warfare, 12,695 dead during five years of conflict would draw little or no attention today. (After all, did not some 56,000 American servicemen die in Vietnam?) Nonetheless, the enormity of this mortality is quickly and dramatically evident when compared to the total number of British troops sent to the colony, which was some 20,525. Thus, nearly 62% of all troops sent to Saint Domingue perished there; and this does not include soldiers who died on passage to and from the colony. (Well over one million U.S. servicemen would probably have perished in Vietnam if a similar rate of mortality had been applicable.)

Some specific measure of the grim certainty of death in Saint Domingue is evident in the experiences of Thomas Phipps Howard, a young British officer who served in the York Hussars, a foreign mercenary cavalry regiment in British service. Howard recorded in his journal that his regiment lost 174 men, or 23 percent of the corps' total strength, in a ten-day period, from 3 to 13 July 1796.

Although military policies also receive special consideration, Geggus' treatment of the conduct of war, particularly the insurgency warfare waged so brilliantly by Toussaint L'Ouverture, is inadequate. Walter Laqueur has concluded that the "French" were defeated in Saint Domingue, not by a guerrilla force, but by a conventional army (1961: 54). By citing the French, Laqueur is presumably referring to Toussaint's campaigns against the French after 1798. If the proposition that the extraordinary Toussaint fielded a conventional army against the French is true, it hardly applies to the period 1793 to 1798. The conduct of warfare during this time matches perfectly with the classic definition of guerrilla warfare (Paget 1967: 23): operations conducted in the interior of country hard to traverse and difficult of access; extensive theatre of operations; a strategic defensive combined with the tactical initiative; and partisan troops instructed never to stake success on the outcome of a single battle. Geggus' failure to appreciate the dynamics of insurgency warfare, which confounded the British and aided measurably in driving them from the colony, tells the reader

precious little about the basic requirements of a successful insurgent force (Gann 1971: 21-23) like Toussaint's, namely regimental interior economy, political indoctrination and motivation, support from the local populace, bases, mobility, and logistics. Thus, we are left without a detailed portrait of Toussaint's army. This oversight led Geggus to judge Toussaint's way of war by conventional military standards, with predictable results (see p. 289). All this underscores the need for a study of the conduct of war during the Haitian Revolution.

This criticism aside, Professor Geggus has written a masterful account of the British occupation of Saint Domingue. This work is an exemplary case of rigorous scholarly analysis, organization, and the skillful use of a vast amount of printed and manuscript material in several national archives. It is, quite simply, the most complete and authoritative study to appear on the subject.

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*The Catholic Church in Haiti (1704-1785): selected letters, memoirs and documents*. GEORGE BREATHETT. Chapel Hill NC: Documentary Publications, 1983. xii + 202 pp. (Cloth US\$ 27.95)

One can only be disappointed by reading this book. Although its title is very ambitious, it is limited to documents taken from the Archives

Nationales (Colonies F5A4), some of which had been published previously. They cover the years from 1704 (when the Jesuits arrived in the north of Saint Domingue) to 1785 (a year quite unmarked by notable events).

Some documents that are important (for example the memoir of 12 February 1768 by the Capuchin Pere Julian, about the arrival of the Capuchins to replace the Jesuits, or the inventory made on 22 June 1773 of the Dominican plantation at Léogane) are presented without commentary alongside inventories of the personal belongings of Dominicans, Capuchins, and secular clergy. The personal inventory of the famous abbé Delahaye (priest of Dondon in 1773) is not even mentioned. Not a single person, not a single priest is presented in terms of biographical data, which is a great loss. The 19-page introduction includes no explanation or interpretation of the documents published in this volume. The following listing says it all (p. 8): Jesuits, Dominicans, Preaching Brethren, Capuchins, or Hospitalers. The Jesuits never at any point had secondary schools in Saint Domingue or anywhere in the French Antilles.

Errors, scattered throughout the text, include the names of both people and places: *la petite rivière de Bonité* for *la Petite-Rivière de l'Artibonite*, *Les Venettes* for *les Verettes*, *St Goave* for *le Petit-Goave*, *les Cayes-Calmet* for *les Cayes de Jacmel*, etc. Among many similar typographical errors, one also finds African *nationalité* instead of *nation*, *Caplaon* for *Caplaou*, and *Cauga* for *Canga*. Most of the references (pp. 93-95) are quite useless; and the works of Mgr. Jan and Père Cardroch, which would have shed light on the main questions raised by these documents, are not cited.

Was the purpose of this book really to clarify geographical and historical ideas for readers interested in Haiti before independence?

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*American Odyssey: Haitians in New York City*. MICHEL S. LAGUERRE. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1984. 198 pp. (Cloth US\$ 29.95, Paper US\$ 9.95)

When hundreds of boatloads of Haitians began arriving on Florida's shores in the late 1970s and in 1980, the U.S. media and public paid them some attention. Yet, the concern was brief, lasting only as long as the seeming crisis of uncontrolled boat arrivals continued. The much larger and longer standing Haitian community in New York City received no attention in the U.S. media.

Academia has focused almost as little attention on Haitians in the U.S. as the media have. There have been a few dissertations and short articles, but hardly a recognizable or coherent body of literature. This book by Michel Laguerre begins to address that deficit. Unfortunately, it is not a very perceptive or thorough beginning, and provides no more than an eclectic perspective on the Haitian community in New York City.

The book is composed of a set of separate essays nearly all of which were previously presented elsewhere. There are discussions ranging from kinship to gambling to health practices. While all of these are intrinsically interesting and add to our knowledge of Haitians in New York, they are not adequately tied together into a coherent book.

Laguerre apparently intended to put his work within the context of immigration and ethnic studies. He alludes to a few themes in the literature on ethnicity, but fails to develop them sufficiently to provide either a focus for the empirical description (which comprises the bulk of the text) or a test and expansion of previous theoretical generalizations. He mentions that Haitian ethnicity is expressed within the realm of one's social class and that it can be strategically manipulated by individuals. But the substantive chapters that follow this theme of the introduction have little to do with these theoretical leads. He does discuss how individuals manipulate their available resources to obtain visas to the United States, but he does not indicate how that practice relates to ethnicity. He mentions that some Haitians are better off than others, but he does not discuss at any length how economic status is related to Haitian ethnicity.

The substantive chapters frequently provide extensive and interesting detail, particularly the chapter on health. The chapter on family organization presents an innovative methodology for studying residence and kinship. Because of the lack of a theoretical focus, however, the chapters are disjointed, even if intrinsically interesting. One of the

most important discussions in the book deals with the history of Haitian migration to the United States, but it is relegated to an appendix.

The relationship between immigration and economics has been the focus of the most important recent trend in immigration studies. Work by authors such as Portes (1984) and Piore (1979) has refocused the concerns of virtually all scholars. Ethnicity is now viewed as being affected not only by the characteristics of individual migrants (such as race and education), but also by the economic sector into which the migrants become incorporated. The role of the Haitians in New York is critically important. They are in a city that has a history of incorporating immigrants into low-wage, labor-intensive jobs. How similar are the Haitians to the waves of immigrants who preceded them? Are they in the same jobs? Is their mobility lessened because they are black? Are the Haitian enclave businesses any more or less extensive than the Jewish, Italian, or Puerto Rican ones were at a similar point in the development of their ethnic communities? Unfortunately, Laguerre's monograph does not allow us to begin to answer these questions.

Laguerre estimates that one third of the Haitians fit into the "low skill" category. What does he mean by low skill? How does it compare with the "secondary, informal" sector described in the literature? He presents no data on Haitian businesses, other than those engaged in the Haitian numbers games. He provides an extensive description of rotating credit associations, but makes no effort to relate this description to ethnicity.

In short, Laguerre's book is welcome because it is the first book on Haitians in the United States. It is a shame that it could not have been more coherent and theoretically focused.

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*The Caribbean challenge: U.S. policy in a volatile region.* H. MICHAEL ERISMAN (ed.). Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1984. xiii + 208 pp. (Cloth US\$ 22.50; Paper US\$ 10.95)

*Problems of development in beautiful countries: perspectives on the Caribbean.* RANSFORD W. PALMER. Lanham MD: The North-South Publishing Company, 1984. xvii + 91 pp. (Paper US\$ 12.50)

Although their two titles could suggest the contrary, there seems to be a common concern present in both these books. In the book edited by Michael Erisman it represents the central theme and in Palmer's work it serves as the backdrop for an analysis of the obstacles to the economic development of the Caribbean islands. It is a preoccupation, however, that is dealt with in markedly different ways in the two cases.

The book edited by Erisman includes a series of essays that attempt to explain from different perspectives the main dimensions of U.S. foreign policy in the Caribbean Basin. Preceded by a very complete introduction by Erisman, the first section presents an overall analysis of the ideological, strategic, and economic aspects of this policy. A second section includes four case studies based specifically on U.S. relations with Cuba, El Salvador, Mexico, and Jamaica. The book ends with an essay in which Abram Lowenthal, taking into account the main variables in play, summarizes the current prospects and options of U.S. policy toward the region. Because the book was already prepared for publication in October 1983, it does not include an analysis of the crisis and the military intervention in Grenada. But it does provide a comprehensive view of all the various factors that have influenced the evolution of American foreign policy in the Basin and of its most outstanding features.

On the whole, the essays in the book present a homogeneous approach to the subject by trying to explore the socio-economic causes of the situation of the Caribbean Basin countries and the recurring lack of political perception of these causes by those in charge of formulating a foreign policy for a region that has become of vital importance to the United States. This viewpoint is in sharp contrast to the approach that has characterized the aims of U.S. foreign policy in the Basin in terms of the East-West confrontation, and it provides a more polished and coherent understanding of a region in which the external and internal factors affecting socio-economic and political development require sophisticated analysis.

However, there is a conceptual gap (pointed out by Lowenthal in the

last chapter) which permeates the entire book. The tacit acceptance of an expanded definition of the Basin, in the terms given by the United States strategic interests, leads to inadequate perception of the specific problems faces by the Central American countries and the particular characteristics of the island states that, in general, present contrasting sociopolitical and socioeconomic problems. This gap induces the authors to ignore, with the exception of a few marginal references, some critical points of the area's geopolitical situation such as the effects of the evolution of the Sandinista government in Nicaragua and the role of the Contadora Group.

In spite of this limitation, Erisman's book represents an important contribution to the analysis of the U.S. foreign policy toward a region regarded as its "third border," from a point of view that is not limited by an approach based solely on the confrontation between world powers. Within this framework the essays included in this book make a significant contribution to the understanding of the perceptions behind this policy, the actors on the regional stage, and the limitations of their relations with the United States.

In this context (and even though this may not have been the intention), Ransford Palmer's work could be considered a fitting complement for understanding a specific dimension of the problems that face the insular Caribbean states: the economic obstacles encountered by the independent English-speaking Caribbean countries in their attempts to pave the road toward post-colonial autonomous development. However, Palmer's book, which includes a series of articles previously published or presented by the author, shows a marked lack of integration among the various chapters. His analysis deals with the internal and external difficulties conditioning the economic development of the Caribbean countries and the solutions suggested. It ranges from a detailed study of some specific problems (such as the consequences of the emigration of skilled labor, the lack of structural stimuli for the development of local industries which could foster growth at a national or regional level, and the effects of an economic structure oriented toward raw material exports) to a superficial treatment of some experiences that point to alternative development processes (such as the case of Grenada between 1979 and 1983).

In turn, by emphasizing the local factors that could influence economic development in Caribbean countries, the external structural conditions imposed upon island economics are frequently ignored. The premise of the "native growth motors," based on the development of local small- and medium-sized industry working in conjunction with

other industries that could be established with foreign capital investments, seems to underestimate the fact that quite often, without proper state control, these same foreign investments restrict the development of the local enterprise. Finally, the diagnosis and suggestions proposed for the development of the Eastern Caribbean states raise once again the question of their economic viability in view of the limitations imposed by the international economic system, the difficulties involved in regional cooperation and integration, and the economic ties with the United States, particularly when confronted with the possible consequences of the implementation of the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI).

In short, these two books represent very different goals. Palmer's is an attempt to assess the feasibility of the economic development of the small states of the English-speaking Caribbean from a restricted perspective. The merit of Erisman's collection, in contrast, is that it analyzes, from a multidimensional point of view, the socio-political and economic characteristics of a region confronted with U.S. hegemonic interests.

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*The politics of the Caribbean Community 1961-79: regional integration among new states.* ANTHONY PAYNE. Oxford: Manchester University Press, 1980. xi + 299 pp. (Cloth £ 19.50)

As one of the still surviving Third World experiments in economic integration, the Caribbean community of English-speaking states provides an interesting case study of the politics of regional integration. This work presents a detailed historical overview of the genesis and development of the integration idea and follows through with an insightful account of how it took shape in the form of a political federation and how that federation disintegrated and led subsequently to a more modest effort at economic integration.

Payne's work is extremely useful in documenting the conflicts, clash of ideas and moving personalities of the public figures who played a major role in this important attempt at mini-state regionalism. What

the book lacks in theoretical discussion it more than makes up for in richness of historical detail on how the key events took shape in the crucial years between the birth of the federal idea and the revival of regionalism after the collapse of the federation of Caribbean Territories.

Payne fails, however, to specify either the underlying changing political and economic conditions in the region or the ways in which these changes affected motivations toward political or economic unity. More importantly, the work fails to locate the Caribbean within the context of the wider political economic currents, either in the region or in the global or world system, so as to come to grips with how these important external factors impinge on regional unity and the motivation toward political or economic integration.

Since the publication of this work, these external factors have loomed large in shaping the political character of the Caribbean. The emergence of Marxism-Leninism in Grenada, the assassination of Prime Minister Bishop, the invasion of Grenada, the intervention of the United States in that country, the ideological polarization within the community between anti-U.S. and pro-U.S. factions, U.S.-induced trends toward bilateralism and client relationships with states, the increasing economic absorption of Caribbean economies into deepening ties of dependency on the United States, and the domination of cold war issues related to Cuba-U.S. contestation for political influence in the region are just some of the factors that have fundamentally changed the political environment of the Caribbean since this publication. These factors must be added to the disruptive impact of the economic crises of the 1970s and the 1980s on the process of regional integration as these small economies have increasingly looked outwards for solutions.

Payne's work fails both to give us a framework in which to understand these events and their impact on the Caribbean and to explain how these major changes in the international political economy have influenced the region. The Caribbean community is currently experiencing severe political and economic crises which have severely weakened the integration movement. Any approach that sees the issue, as Payne does, in terms of how strong the motive towards regional unity is and how strong the insular impulses are does not take us very far, as it fails to come to grips with a number of structural factors inherent in the very character of Caribbean economics and how they are inserted into the world capitalist system. By ignoring the need to explore in detail the impact of international political economy and world trade, and pro-

duction and financial trends on the region, Payne has given us no foundation for an understanding of how the economic forces since the OPEC oil price hike in 1973 and the recession in the centers of world capitalism have weakened the structures that have facilitated Caribbean economic and political unity.

To the extent that the integration movement has centered primarily on economic gains deriving from policies designed to stimulate intraregional trade, Payne fails to give any detailed account of the development of regional trade flows or of their consequences and effects on the Caribbean as a whole and on individual territories. Indeed, the work would have benefited considerably from a more systematic analysis of the economic aspects of Caribbean integration, rather than the imbalanced emphasis on political episodes and events, the meaning of which is often lost without some connection being made to the changing economic realities facing individual countries.

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*Jamaica: struggle in the periphery.* MICHAEL MANLEY. London: Third World Media, in association with Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative Society, 1982. (Distributed in the United States by W.W. Norton.) xi + 259 pp. (Cloth US\$ 15.95, £ 7.95; Paper US\$ 7.95, £ 3.95)

This book is an account by Michael Manley, Prime Minister of Jamaica from 1972 to 1980, of his government's period in office. In his own words, the book "attempts neither history nor autobiography" but rather "is intended as a reflection, after the event, upon the controversy which surrounded the events" (p. ix). What the book reflects upon is the People's National Party (PNP) government's experience with setting in motion a process of social and economic change in Jamaica and with the ensuing struggle between the forces of change and the forces attempting to preserve the status quo. Among the latter, the book's reflections put particular emphasis on external forces, principally on the role of various forces in the United States.

The book is well written and interesting, letting the reader see the

process from the point of view of an insider. Manley starts by putting his government in historical perspective, sketching the economic and political developments in Jamaica that prepared the way for the PNP's attempt to reorient and chart a new development path. He makes a strong case for the need to alter fundamentally the structures of the dependent Jamaican economy because of its vulnerability and its detrimental effects on human welfare. Such alterations, he convincingly argues, require both internal structural changes and a larger solidaristic Third World struggle for the New International Economic Order. He explains the PNP's conception of the alternative path that the party members termed democratic socialist, differentiating it from the Puerto Rican model on the one hand and the Cuban model on the other. The book then takes the reader through the period from the 1972 landslide victory, and the first years that saw the initiation of domestic social, economic, and cultural reform policies and a foreign policy of non-alignment, to the process of ideological self-definition of the party and the 1974 declaration of its commitment to a democratic socialist development path, the growth of internal opposition and external pressures, and the election victory in 1976, won amidst a bitter and violent campaign and mounting signs of the impending economic crisis. As for the second term, the book describes the struggle over the question of whether or not to go to the IMF, the first relatively lenient IMF program, and then the second one, which was extremely harsh and had devastating effects on the economy, the Jamaican people, the party, and the government. Finally, the reader gets an insight into the agony of the break with the IMF in early 1980, the subsequent election campaign which was waged with unprecedented levels of violence, and the crushing election defeat in October.

From the point of view of trying to draw lessons from the 1972-80 experience for the viability of a democratic socialist development path elsewhere or in Jamaica in the future, the book could be faulted for focusing too heavily on pressures from internal and external opposition forces. Though some of the internal weaknesses of the process are mentioned, not enough weight is given to the internal structural and organizational factors that hampered the pursuit of the democratic socialist path, such as the lack of a tradition of ideological politics in the society and of ideological unity in the party, the divided labor movement, the absence of an economic plan, and the insufficient capacity of the state apparatus to implement effectively the many programs introduced by the government. Nevertheless, the book is an honest account in the sense that it does not try to hide certain short-

comings nor to glorify the real achievements of the PNP government. In short, it is a valuable book which offers interesting insights into a piece of Jamaican and Third World history and manages to convey its author's commitment to a development path aimed at a more egalitarian and democratic society in Jamaica, as well as his commitment to a world order facilitating the pursuit of such a path by individual countries. It also manages to convey a sense of the tremendous obstacles on the path.

The book makes good reading not only for social scientists but also for the general public interested in development in general and in the Caribbean and Jamaica in particular. It is also highly accessible to students who seem to find the direct style very appealing. Furthermore, since the book raises and illustrates many conceptual and theoretical issues concerning Third World development and politics, it provides good starting points for class discussions.

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*Grenada: the route to revolution.* W. RICHARD JACOBS & IAN JACOBS.  
Havana; Casa de Las Americas, 1979. 157 pp. (Paper US\$ 7.75)

*Grenada: the peaceful revolution.* EPICA TASK FORCE. Washington D.C., 1982. 132 pp. (Paper US\$ 5.25 in the United States, US\$ 5.50 elsewhere)

At this time, approximately one year after the destruction of the Grenada revolution, Caribbean people are attempting to salvage from the ruins the lessons and keys for the future. Throughout its existence, the Grenada revolution – “a big revolution in a small country” – brought that small island of no more than 100,000 people into international focus and became a symbol of hope to people throughout the world who work toward a new kind of society.

The aftermath of the Grenada revolution has spurred a new spate of publications which could eventually produce a new Grenadiana collection. More importantly, however, students and friends of Grenada will

be attempting to dissect and analyze these four and a half years (1979-1983), as well as the years leading up to them.

The two books under review have to be seen within the context in which they were written and the purpose which they were made to serve. *Grenada, route to revolution* was one of the first books published on the revolutionary process in Grenada. The book draws heavily on research carried out on Grenadian political history prior to 1979. Within the context of the events of 13 March 1979, these data were arranged as a background and justification of the revolutionary situation.

Comprised of six chapters, a preface, and an introduction by the Trinidadian historian James Millette, this book traces the political development of Grenada since 1951. Chapter one attempts to identify the Grenadian situation as a revolutionary situation and views the ensuing process within the political approach known as the "non-capitalist path to development." This chapter also contains a class analysis of Grenadian society, including a critical appraisal of the intelligentsia from which a sizable proportion of the revolutionary leadership emerged. This discussion is important, as it provides the framework on which the rest of the book is based. Its rhetorical language and the use of statements without visible justification weaken its content, however, and preclude any real analytical discussion of the subjects raised.

This approach is continued in the rest of the book which, following a rather simplistic definition of capitalism, discusses the political economy of the period 1951-1979, including the emergence of the Grenada United Labour Party (GULP) of Eric Gairy out of the post-war labor movements and the more clearly pro-capitalist Grenada National Party (GNP) of Herbert Blaize. The fourth and fifth chapters deal with the events leading to the formation of the New Jewel Movement (NJM) and the development of the revolutionary situation.

Throughout the book attempts to fit the Grenada revolution into an existing political framework are apparent and the now largely irrelevant approach of the so-called non-capitalist path of development is used. As used in this book, this concept embraces a wide range of political alternatives, from the People's National Party (PNP) of Jamaica under Michael Manley to the People's National Congress (PNC) of Guyana under Forbes Burnham (p. 83). What was enthusiastically embraced by these and other authors at this time (see Gonzalves 1981) as a world-wide shift of political forces has now fallen prey to the contradictions inherent within it, as Clive Y. Thomas warned in 1979 (Thomas 1979). Maybe in the retrospective analysis of the Grenada revolution, this could be one area of emphasis.



The book concludes with a description of the events of the revolutionary transition and of the early achievements of the revolution. Its concluding paragraph reflects the rhetorical "correctness" which characterizes the book from beginning to end:

The Grenada revolution, like all revolutions, has its enemies and detractors – both locally and internationally. But with state power firmly in the hands of the people, the people armed, the party organized and vigilant and the nation as a whole mobilized and determined to struggle in alliance with the progressive forces of the world, victory is assumed. [p. 140].

All in all, the book does present a reasonable assembly of data; in the absence of other publications during the early days of the revolution, it became the only source of data available. In the reflective analysis of the present period, however, this book may serve a less useful purpose, mainly for what it has omitted from its "correct" analysis. This raises important ethical and strategic questions for revolutionary writing, such as, what to include and what to leave out. What are our aims – to find answers or to counter the propaganda of our enemies? Do we present a strong united front or bare our weaknesses to the world? These questions cannot be solved here, but they represent the contradictions that the authors may have faced at the time of writing.

*Grenada: the peaceful revolution* has a slightly different aim. Written by the Ecumenical Program for Interamerican Communication and Action (EPICA), it is a document aimed primarily at the North American public. Written in a popular form and simple language, and printed with bold type interspersed with interesting and relevant photographs, diagrams, poems, and sketches, this book covers an even wider range of data than its predecessor, but with no pretensions of contributing to political theory.

The book begins with the pre-Columbian and West African origins of the Grenadian people, followed by the slavery experience, highlighting the Fedon Rebellion of 1795 which was restored to prominence during the revolutionary period. It then addresses the trend of anti-colonial and nationalist consciousness which was evident from very early in this century in the 1920s, the reform movements of the same period and the emergence of the labor movement in the 1930s and 1940s.

The "Gairy Years" are dealt with in detail, including the movement to nearby Trinidad in the mid 1960s, the effects of the Black Power Movement, and the growth of the popular anti-Gairy movement culminating in the formation of the New Jewel Movement (NJM).

The main portion of the book is concerned with what it terms "the peaceful revolution," a celebration of the fact that the transfer of power was accomplished "at a total cost of three lives" (p. 54). The social and economic programs of the revolution are discussed, but more in a tone of explanation than one of revolutionary correctness. Here, too, an uncritical stance is taken, but considering its less pretentious aim this is understandable.

One issue with which I have to contend is its discussion of women. The inclusion of this subject is a reflection of the importance and visibility of women during the Grenadian process. This section identifies the contribution of women during the pre-revolutionary period and the activities of the government and the National Women's Organisation during the revolution. But it also reflects the anti-feminism that continues to dog the progressive movement, as seen in the following quotation:

Advancement [for women] has come not so much through pressure for women's rights as an isolated issue (the model of the U.S. feminist movement) as through women's active participation and leadership in the revolution as a whole [p. 98].

The numerous feminist writings on revolutionary movements and socialist transformation have gone unnoticed. Instead, statements such as this reflect the continued mistrust by the left of women's conscious struggle on this question and on man-woman relationships within a political economic framework as presented by the feminist movement. In the post-revolutionary analysis of Grenada, the extent to which women did have to struggle for their rights as women during this process will most likely become much clearer.

The rest of the book highlights attempts to destabilize the revolution and the support and solidarity that it received regionally and internationally. On the thorny question of the elections, it presents the PRG's justification as well as the contradictions inherent in that position. All in all, this easily readable book is full of data and information, clearly referenced, and characterized by a high level of accuracy. In this period of post-revolutionary reflection it should continue to be an important reference document.

In the in-depth, honest, and sober analysis which is needed now, both these books represent mainly background data. We await those writings that go beneath the surface, to the underlying processes that were taking place. We need such an analysis in order to come to a fuller understanding of past events and as guides for the future. This process of analysis and reflection is necessary if the lives lost in October 1983 are not to be in vain.

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*Geopolítica de las relaciones de Venezuela con el Caribe*. ANDRES SERBIN (ed.). Caracas: Fundación Fondo Editorial Acta Científica Venezolana, 1983. (Paper Bs. 98.00)

This volume is welcome because it deals with the important topic of Venezuela's growing influence in the Caribbean. As described by Serbin in the introduction, the book, produced under the auspices of the *Asociación Venezolana de Estudios del Caribe* (AVECA, formed in 1979), synthesizes various currents of research on the Caribbean conducted in Venezuelan university centers over the last seven years or so. The surge in research obviously matches the surge in official interest in the region since the early 1970s.

Unfortunately, the book suffers from several limitations. First, it attempts too much in focusing both on the geopolitical theme and on a socio-political historical analysis of the Caribbean islands. The latter would best have been left to another volume in which a more comprehensive survey could be attempted. Other flaws of the work include the poor integration of the material and the uneven quality of the contributions: Khaldone Nweidhed's contribution on the "geopolitics of renewable natural resources" – specifically marine resources – is interesting but superficial and leads to no geopolitically relevant conclusion; neither does Roland Ely's "Repercussions of the Anglo-Argentine conflict on North American hegemony in the Caribbean Basin" which, written in the climate of euphoria about Latin American cooperation after the Malvinas crisis, is replete with enthusiastic but one-sided statements; and the essay by Alberto Muller Rojas on Caribbean arms (confidence-building) politics omits discussion of such issues as the

military effects of the Venezuela-Guyana, Venezuela-Colombia, and Venezuela-Cuba conflicts in favor of conclusions about Caribbean powerlessness that are hardly new. That essay is further marred by poor presentation of data. In addition to the lack of integration of several of the contributions, there are problems of style: the writing is labored, with sentences often stretching over ten lines or more, and in Alberto Muller Rojas' article, paragraph numbers have been included for no apparent reason.

The contributions are almost purely descriptive. Theoretical explorations would have been most welcome. One contributor, Carlos Antonio Romero, does attempt to apply games theory to Cuba-Venezuela relations, but this exercise amounts only to an heuristic one, the application of categories to descriptive situations. The predictive possibilities of the model are not explored. Moreover, the method denies a role to external factors, an implausible omission under the circumstances.

In his introductory essay, Leslie Manigat provides a conceptual framework for considering the problems raised by Venezuela's promotion of itself as a Caribbean nation. These problems – strategic, economic, ideological, and psychological (the last unfortunately alluded to only briefly) – raise the issue of what type of policy Venezuela should pursue toward the diverse Caribbean, given Venezuela's regional, Third Worldist, and international aspirations. However, the rest of the book barely begins to address the issues Manigat raises.

Pedro Gunill Grau presents an interesting and informative study of early commercial relations and patterns of immigration between Venezuela and the Caribbean. Mirlande Hippolyte de Manigat offers a valuable contribution by addressing the question of whether Venezuelan penetration of the Caribbean has been functional or dysfunctional for the Caribbean integration movement, CARICOM. Her analysis of Venezuelan relations with the Caribbean Development Bank (as opposed to CARICOM itself) is particularly notable, as is her discussion of the persistence of Venezuelan officials in interpreting (erroneously) CARICOM statements on the Venezuela-Guyana border dispute as favorable to Venezuela. Demetrio Boersner succinctly describes Venezuela's relations with Cuba, including insights into the change by Venezuela toward a more conciliatory attitude in 1982. Leoncio Pinto describes how internal and international economic factors led to the de-ideologization of Venezuela's Caribbean policy under Carlos Andrés Pérez and how the region's crisis of democracy later produced a re-ideologization of policy.

The second half of the book contains little that can be considered new material. Serbin's description of the rise of leftwing movements in the Caribbean between 1968 and 1973 tries hard but fails to distinguish clearly between movements, since all contain elements of pro-African ethnicism, nationalism, and anti-imperialism. Rita Giacalone de Romeo's essay on Trinidad and Grenada is the most interesting in this section. However, unwarranted assumptions are made. There were fundamental differences between the leadership of Gairy in Grenada, which openly abused its power, and that of Williams in Trinidad, which remained to some degree accountable. Moreover, it cannot be said that the Westminster model as a model is responsible for Caribbean political and social failures or, specifically, for the rise of charismatic or centralizing leadership. The model works well enough in Barbados and Jamaica.

Two essays in this section deal with the Dutch Antilles; these are especially welcome because there is less widely available research on this topic than on the others. Beatriz Cáceres de Pefaur's contribution is well-written and informative about the factors retarding and facilitating the independence of these islands. The economic dependence of the islands is clearly a strong factor retarding independence. José Moreno Colmenares' essay is a synthesis of some important historical, economic, and cultural currents affecting Curaçao. Unfortunately, the author tries to do too much in too little space, throwing the reader tidbits of information that are not pursued.

Overall, this book touches less new ground than might have been expected. Despite the problems cited, however, the volume deserves attention if only because of its origins. In addition, the reader who perseveres will find among the chaff the grain of some interesting insights and suggestions for future research.

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*Time for decision: the United States and Puerto Rico.* JORGE HEINE (ed.). Lanham MD: North-South Publishing Co., 1983. xi + 303 pp. (Paper US\$ 19.95)

Puerto Rico is the U.S. territory most frequently studied in the last decade. Either the U.S. government, the Puerto Rico government, or private foundations have encouraged different kinds of research about Puerto Rico's political status, economy or social conditions. This trend has been strengthened by the work of Puerto Rican or North American scholars regarding the island. Whether we like it or not, the status of Puerto Rico has been, and always will be, one of the key issues in that island and in the United States. The book under review is a reader about this issue.

The book is divided into three parts, the first of which ("Parties, Politics and Unions") has three essays. Robert Anderson analyzes the party system, particularly "the realignments, electoral shifts and changes in ideological postures which have occurred since 1968" (p. 4). In contrast, Angelo Falcón discusses voters' participation in Puerto Rico's elections and compares it to the participation of Puerto Ricans residing in the mainland, particularly in the state of New York. He concludes that there is a lower voting turnout among Puerto Ricans in the U.S. mainland than among Puerto Ricans in the island. In the third essay, Miles Galvin writes about trade unionism in Puerto Rico. It is very interesting that Galvin describes the collaboration between Luis Muñoz Marín's government and the AFL-CIO. He concludes that "it is clear that Puerto Rican paternalistic posture in the past, coupled with the pre-emptive influence of U.S. labor, reduced the participation of Puerto Rico labor to a minimum" (p. 86).

The second part of the book, with four essays, deals with the Puerto Rican economy facing the 1980s. José Joaquín Villamil argues that the economic crisis in Puerto Rico is the result of changes in the nature of the world economy making the Partido Popular Democrático strategies of the 1940s to 1960s obsolete. This essay presents some facts that are necessary in order to understand the nature of dependency of Puerto Rico on the U.S. economy. In the same manner, Elías Gutiérrez raises the issue of Puerto Rico's dependent growth. He goes on to argue that Puerto Rico has an urban ghetto destiny; "Just as savings are transferred out of an urban ghetto, the economy of the Island is experiencing a capital bleed" (p. 126). To avoid being a ghetto, Puerto Rico has to stimulate internal savings and "capital must be used to create productive capacity. It cannot be used to stimulate consump-

tion" (p. 128). Agricultural problems are analyzed by Richard Weisskoff in a chapter entitled "Corps and Coupons". The chapter studies the federal Food Stamp Program. The last chapter written by Bertram Finn goes into the future, analyzing economic issues relating to Puerto Rico's possible acquisition of statehood.

The third part of the book discusses the politics of U.S.-Puerto Rican relations. In contrast with the second part of the book, which presents a critical view of the dependent economy trend, the third part is heavily biased toward a prostatehood stance. In spite of the use of biased terms, the chapter written by Luis Dávila and Nélida Jiménez is an interesting contribution. They studied all the procedures historically used for admission of territories to federal statehood, revealing the Tennessee Plan as a short-cut to statehood (p. 258-60). They briefly elaborate how each territory has received special treatment at the time of admission. However, they failed to study crucial variables such as the nature of the class struggle, the economy, and the military factors involved in each of those cases. Indeed, Finn's essay (in the book's second part) asserts: "The last two territories to become states - Alaska and Hawaii - had economies that were quite different from that of contemporary Puerto Rico. They were much less sophisticated than Puerto Rico and are fully integrated into the federal system which Puerto Rico is not" (p. 183). This third part of the book also includes an essay about the links between Puerto Rican and U.S. political parties, and another that places emphasis on U.S. policy toward Puerto Rico. Finally, the book contains a brief but useful bibliography.

In conclusion, all the essays provide pertinent information about Puerto Rico and its problems and should serve to stimulate discussion and debate in the near future.

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*Walter Rodney, revolutionary and scholar: a tribute.* EDWARD A. ALPERS & PIERRE-MICHEL FONTAINE (eds.). Los Angeles: Center for Afro-American Studies and African Studies Center, University of California, 1982. xi + 187 pp. (Cloth US\$ 17.95, Paper US\$ 10.95)

This is a collection of eight articles by an impressive list of contributors, with an introduction by Edward Alpers, an epilogue by Pierre-Michel Fontaine, and three appendices – a biographical sketch, a list of Rodney's published works and a transcript of his last public speech.

Alper's introduction deals with the subject as a person, telling us something of his character, courage, and ability, and comments briefly on the contributions that follow. In his own article he illustrates Rodney's effective use of history as a weapon in the struggle for liberation in Africa and the Caribbean. Fontaine, in his article, gives an account of Rodney's academic career, acknowledges his contribution to an over-all understanding of African history, records his active participation in Guyanese struggles against foreign and domestic exploitation and oppression and, in his epilogue, discusses Guyana's present and future prospects.

Ewart Thomas analyzes Rodney's published works. He also suggests, referring to items mentioned in his curriculum vitae, that "there is . . . inference that his unpublished work deserves our attention." This, he says, is a task for the future. Lansiné Kaba discusses Rodney's works on African history. Robert Hill sees "the overlapping domains of popular struggle in Africa, America, and the Caribbean" as a formative influence in Rodney's thinking. Hill describes him as "a Pan-African thinker and political activist," using the term Pan-Africanism to mean more than the unification of Africa and, by implication, as something to be distinguished from Senghor's "négritude."

Douglas Ferguson draws attention to Marxist-Leninist theory, competently used, as the tool that enabled Walter to reveal and analyze the historical motive forces at work in Africa and Guyana. Clive Thomas discusses the political scene in Guyana and the Working People's Alliance, of which Walter was a leading member.

The article by C.L.R. James probably reveals more about the thoughts of James than it does about the thoughts, or indeed actions, of Walter Rodney. In it James applies his currently favorite thesis to the Guyanese situation. James regards spontaneous revolutionary activity of the popular masses as all important. He distrusts centrally organized leadership of the kind provided by a Marxist-Leninist van-



guard party and sees the preparatory organizational work of such a party as relatively unimportant.

James acknowledges the importance of arms but sees no need to acquire these in advance. He writes "the arms for the revolution are there: the police and the army have them." All revolutionaries have to do is "win over a section of the army, and you have the arms." Concerning party organization he writes: "It is good to have a party. But even if you do not have a party, Lenin's point is to get the basic objective social and political circumstances that are the inevitable bases to work on the art of insurrection. But you organise by all means, and the more the better. But do not link the question of organisation to the seizure of power."

To support this position James quotes a passage in a letter written by Lenin to the Central Committee of his party in September 1917: "insurrection must rely not upon conspiracy and not upon a party, but upon the advanced class." To interpret this in the way James has done is to miss the point Lenin was making. The letter does not belittle the importance of the party but stresses certain factors which must be taken into account by a revolutionary party in assessing whether a revolutionary situation has matured and the time has come to launch the insurrection. If a popular uprising is to lead to the seizure of power, the organizational and leadership role of the party is central to Lenin's thesis of revolution.

James pursues his argument in a revealing passage in which he criticizes Rodney. He writes, "That tremendous upheaval of the population . . . everywhere, this is what you have to depend on, and Walter did not wait for that. He tried to force it." But neither James nor any other contributor refers to anything written or said by Rodney that would suggest he advocated precipitate or adventurist action against the Burnham regime. James' reproach is tantamount to suggesting that Rodney was some sort of twentieth-century Auguste Blanqui. What is his justification for this?

Walter's brother Donald, who was with him at the time of the bomb explosion that killed him, has stated that Walter believed he was testing a "walkie-talkie" radio which the assassin had made for his use. Perhaps he can be accused of gullability in walking into the assassin's trap, but there is nothing adventurist in endeavoring to acquire "walkie-talkie" radios. These are certainly in everyday use in Jamaica. One is therefore forced to conclude that James is implying that Donald's

statement was false and that Walter had knowingly received an explosive device for the purpose of carrying out some adventurist operation. There is a group in London which, without supporting evidence of any kind, advances this theory and indeed applauds Walter for what they imagine he was engaged in doing. Substitute reproach for applause and we would seem to have James' position.

One aspect of Rodney's work that has not been commented on is his belief in the importance of co-operation with the People's Progressive Party led by Cheddi Jagan and his positive assessment of the latter, an assessment not shared by all his colleagues. Rodney's death may have reduced the prospects of improving relations between the WPA and the PPP.

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*Solomon: an autobiography.* PATRICK SOLOMON. Trinidad: Inprint Caribbean, 1981. x + 253 pp. (Paper US\$ 9.75)

*Movement of the people: essays on independence.* SELWYN R. CUDJOE. Ithaca NY: Calaloux Publications, 1983. xii + 217 pp. (Cloth US\$ 18.95, Paper US\$ 9.95)

These two volumes are different in focus and intent. The first, by a distinguished Trinidadian, looks to a past of public service and political office at the apex of Trinidadian society. It considers, in detail, the period 1938-66 during which Solomon emerged as a major figure in the nationalist agitation for independence eventually to hold high office in the People's National Movement (PNM) governments of 1956-66. The second volume, by a Trinidadian academic, begins where the other leaves off. It examines the contemporary condition of Trinidad and Tobago, particularly the years after 1970, and advances the view that the goals of present Trinidadian society are incompatible with the achievement of real independence. This requires, in turn, changes in consciousness and major political and economic reforms. Whereas the volume by Solomon is one of personal reminiscence, that by Cudjoe is one of critical analysis; and while the former is concerned mainly with establishing, through record, the reason for his reputation, the latter

apparently seeks through political education and social engagement, a claim to both recognition and reputation.

Solomon's book is both informative and disappointing. It provides interesting commentary on politics (though better on social conditions) and conveys very well, as only the participant-observer can, the debate and the temper of the times. It does not, however, except in very few instances, disclose "new" information and what it does reveal in no way materially alters the established conception of these years. Solomon therefore follows the practice of both Mahabir and Robinson (the two former PNM cabinet ministers who have set out their record in government) in keeping the lid on the PNM administrations tightly closed. Historians of the future may therefore be aided by Solomon but he has in no way spared them arduous labor in the appropriate archives. It is therefore to be regretted that an opportunity for disclosure has been missed, though on reflection this may not be an overly serious fault. The book, after all, is constructed as a personal memoir and Solomon liberally uses its pages to settle old quarrels and to lay to rest what he considers mischievous misconceptions of his part in events. Gomes and Williams are therefore singled out for attack on numerous occasions and responsibility for the introduction of race into electoral politics is placed fair and square in the East Indian camp. Likewise, Solomon stoutly defends his corner on the introduction of voting machines in 1961 and rebuts accusations over his conduct during his period of office as minister of home affairs, from which he was to resign under duress in 1964. Thereafter, while external affairs and high diplomatic office were to engage him for another ten years, he was effectively removed from power and increasingly disenchanted by what he saw as its abuse. The book therefore concludes with an epilogue written in 1980 which calls unambiguously for an end to the PNM government, though without commitment to any alternative. (The manuscript as a whole was apparently completed in 1969; certainly it offers no information beyond 1966.)

By contrast, Cudjoe's volume is not backward in offering an alternative. Not in any programmatic sense, but rather through the raising of issues which, in their totality, lead to a recognition by the reader of the need for qualitative change in Trinidadian society. The topics covered are thus wide and the perspective offered is radical. Various chapters include considerations on the writing of history; the role of women; the issue of democracy in Trinidad and Tobago; and the relevance of socialism to Caribbean change. Insofar as there is a single theme, it is that of liberation and development, with an emphasis on the former as

a means of realizing the latter. Cudjoe at this point exposes his formal academic training in literary criticism rather than political economy, with the themes of cultural and ideological dependence being more convincingly elaborated than those treating either economic or political questions. In the evaluation of these there is, moreover, an unfortunate tendency toward eclecticism, with insights gained from structural dependency theory uneasily juxtaposed alongside formulations from classical Marxism-Leninism. The conclusion must therefore be that in this field Cudjoe is still finding his way. That said, he is always stimulating and generally well informed, and the book is to be highly recommended to anyone interested in current events in Trinidad and Tobago.

Although at the beginning of this review it was stated that the authors of these books had different concerns, they do come together on one central question – the role and legacy of Eric Williams. The merits and demerits of both volumes are reflected in their different treatments of him. For Solomon, Eric Williams combined courage and cowardice, vision and expediency, virtue and vice in complex and devious behavior patterns unfathomable to all, perhaps even to Williams himself. His record is therefore one of both achievement and failure, with the corrosive effect of the latter becoming more evident in his later years, thereby effectively holding back the development of the nation. Solomon's view is highly partisan, derived from direct experience and identifying personality as the motivating force in Trinidadian politics. As such, it clashes directly with that propounded by Cudjoe. In a lengthy essay (around 20,000 words) he critically, but sympathetically, reviews Williams' intellectual development and political practice, concluding that on the whole it was both positive and lasting. ("Great is his contribution, and it will prevail," p. 60.) He also sees Williams as representing and embodying his age, larger than life ("the magnificent presence around which all else rotated and genuflected," pp. 59-60), but in the final analysis given his eminence precisely because of a correlation of circumstance. ("The peculiar balance of opportunity and personal powers combined in Eric Eustace Williams in an appropriately unique combination to make him one of the greatest sons of the soil", p 59.) Cudjoe's view is therefore that of the concerned but not yet involved academic, returning to the island after many years absence and seeking to come to terms with what has transpired in the meantime. It is a personal view, but one mediated by the trained intellect both deferring to, and cognizant of, observed facts and realities. The quality of mind is ultimately the yardstick against

which Cudjoe's work is to be measured – the breath of experience that of Solomon's. Thus both offer something to the discerning social scientist and historian – Cudjoe likely to find more favor with the former and Solomon with the latter, as befits both their separate preoccupations and those of their readers.

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*To slay the Hydra: Dutch colonial perspectives on the Saramaka wars.*  
RICHARD PRICE. Ann Arbor MI: Karoma Publishers, 1983. 249 pp.  
(Paper US\$ 15.50)

During the years that Africans and their descendants were enslaved in the Americas, many slaves abandoned their masters; in territories that were endowed with a mountainous or jungle hinterland many fugitives sought refuge there. The potency of this maroon dimension to slave resistance generally lasted longer, and was a much more annoying headache for the authorities, in such colonies as Jamaica, Cuba, and St. Domingue among the Caribbean islands, and Suriname in northeastern South America. These were large territories with extensive areas of difficult country. Smaller and topographically less forbidding territories such as Barbados and the Leeward Islands nevertheless experienced a few years of maroon disturbances which rapidly waned following the aggressive march of sugar cultivation into the interior. In the first group of territories where fugitive slaves were able to hold out and even establish settled communities, every effort was made to dislodge them because, as a state within a state which they became or threatened to become, as the antithesis to everything that slave/plantation society represented, they held out hope to freedom-seeking slaves. Such was the situation in Suriname by the middle of the eighteenth century.

Richard Price's *To slay the Hydra* is a documentary study of an impressively large number of issues related to the ideological and armed conflict in Suriname between the Dutch slaveholding authorities and the Saramaka Maroons living on the upper Saramaka and

Suriname Rivers during the period 1749-1762. Through fourteen carefully selected and edited manuscript documents located in the Algemeen Rijksarchief (The Hague), Price draws attention to special features of the "final years of war and the making of the Saramaka Peace of 1762" as seen through the eyes of "literate Dutch colonial witnesses" (p. 1) whose observations, however, like Maroon responses to their activities, reveal much about the Saramaka point of view. The book is offered as a companion volume to Price's earlier *First-Time: the historical vision of an Afro-American people* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983) which is a more direct and extended presentation, drawn largely from Saramaka oral history, of their version of what happened. Focusing on what he calls "a particularly dramatic moment in the history of Afro-America" (p. 1) (which implies the important place of these and similar developments elsewhere in the history of blacks in the Americas), the author groups the selected documents under four headings: The Abortive Peace of 1749; The Last Great Battle; The Djuka Connection; and Free at Last. The documents' main themes encompass "Saramaka raids on plantations, massive colonial expeditions against these rebel slaves, the schemes of spies and counter-spies, complex political negotiations, and triumphant celebrations – by both sides – at the final outcome" (p. 1) in the peace of 1762.

*To slay the Hydra* effectively demonstrates how the Dutch colonial authorities groped their way, not unlike the very troops in the jungle sent out to rout the Maroons, toward a solution of the maroon menace. In 1752 former Governor J.J. Mauricius used the apt image of the mythological Greek Hydra to depict the stubborn persistence of the Maroon problem and the maddening frustrations that plagued those who had to deal with it. In the 1730s and 1740s military expeditions against the Maroons reached "their maximum size and frequency" without recognizable effect. When as governor in the 1740s Mauricius considered how to get the better of these rebels, he decided that it was "either to make peace with them, or to pursue them with permanent expeditions which [left troops] stationed in the villages they found, and to press continually onwards" (p. 45). Mauricius resolutely pursued the first solution by which he meant to mount a massive expedition into the interior, and after defeating one or more groups of Maroons, to make separate peace "with sword in hand" in order to divide the several groups and bring peace to Suriname. That was the motivation behind the big Saramaka expedition of 1749 which led to an abortive peace with them. The first group of five documents deals with this expedition

and its outcome. Reading through the vivid account of the Creutz expedition, one is especially struck by what Price calls in his introduction to the book "the enormous logistical problems of moving such a force upriver and through the immense forest" (p. 17); by the guerrilla battle techniques of the Saramakas; and also by many other difficulties that plagued the force including, significantly, those related to its dependence on slaves and freedmen to find the way through the difficult and treacherous terrain, and sabotage by black bearers and their periodic escape to the Maroons. The more one grasps the full immensity of the difficulties such expeditions encountered, the better one should understand the much more than merely symbolic threat to colonial order that Maroon activities represented.

Creutz' expedition, from a colonial perspective, successfully achieved "peace with sword in hand" for, after eight weeks in the interior, it had destroyed nine Saramaka villages with four hundred and fifteen houses, Creutz had worked out a provisional cessation of hostilities, and both sides agreed to sign a final treaty that would be sealed "with the transfer of a long list of valuable goods to the Saramakas" (p. 21). But Mauricius' political enemies sabotaged his efforts to honor the promises; new negotiations were attempted with the Saramakas who, believing that they were betrayed, went back to waging war. By 1760 the authorities signed a peace treaty with the Djuka, the other main group of Maroons in Suriname, living in the Tapanahoni-Marowijne watershed, which paved the way for a similar treaty in September 1762 with the Saramaka. At least two features of the treaty might be noted here. First, the stipulation that Saramakas should return all new fugitives to the whites only maintained tensions between them especially as the government's policy remained "no returned runaways, no goods." Price writes that "when the full story is told . . . it will become clear precisely to what extent the Saramakas managed successfully to protect and secrete their most recent arrivals from the coastal plantations" (p. 40). The other feature of the treaty that deserves attention is the long list of tribute goods the Saramakas were able to negotiate which (as with the 1749 list) carries both material and symbolic significance. While the goods were "sorely-needed supplies for a people whose access to western manufactured goods was now otherwise obstructed" (p. 39), they also represented the pinnacle of Saramaka achievement of recognition from those people who had failed to dominate and control them. In the end, the Hydra had emerged triumphant, although, of course, the colonial authorities would claim their own kind of victory.

Readers of *To slay the Hydra* will find much that throws light upon, and raises questions about, maroon developments in various slave societies of the Americas, for the Suriname case is a segment of a much larger regional phenomenon. Price has made it easier for readers to tease meaning out of the documents (which will take them much further than most secondary sources can) by writing a clear and insightful introduction about the history of the Suriname Maroons into which he has woven highlights of the documents' content. Nine illustrations, including three maps, also help the reader along; but perhaps the book's main strength, apart from the documents themselves, lies in the carefully prepared notes to each document which provide exhaustive information for a more thorough appreciation of the value of the study of maroon societies and their role in the history of Afro-America. Both the introduction and the notes indicate a range of issues to which interested scholars might devote their attention for a firmer understanding not only of maroon societies but also the larger slave societies to which they were related. A list of reference works completes this most enlightening book which is a fine example of what can be learned from documents – about the problems they dealt with, about the people who wrote them, and about the people discussed in them – if we pick our way carefully and attentively through them.

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*Bonuman: een studie van zeven religieuze specialisten in Suriname.* R. VAN LIER. Leiden: Institute of Cultural and Social Studies, ICA Publication no. 60, 1983. iii + 132 pp. (Paper Dfl. 7.50)

During my first visit to Suriname in 1972 I had the opportunity to observe a lengthy and complicated series of therapeutic rituals executed by a highly regarded neighborhood *bonuman* or magical practitioner. The hold of an avenging evil spirit had to be removed from an innocent victim. Shortly thereafter I fell prey to the worst case of dengue fever I ever contracted. I felt as though I had been hit by a freight train, every joint ached, nothing helped. I stayed in bed for three



days. Later I met the presiding *bonuman* at a street corner shop and explained why I did not come to see him after the ceremony as we had agreed. He listened carefully to my story, nodded wisely, and said, "Look you better not come to discuss these rituals; it is clear that they are too powerful for you and will cause spiritual and mental decline (*siekie*)." I was introduced to the world of magic and ritual, the *winti* cult, of the Creoles (Afro-Americans) of Suriname.

My meager experience sits squarely in the stream of a great body of literature – historical, sociological, anthropological, theoretical, and ethnographic – that has spanned the last sixty years at least. This is all by way of saying that if Professor van Lier's book had been written thirty-five years ago it would have made a major contribution to the literature on Afro-American religions. As it stands now it does not greatly add anything new or fresh to our understanding of Afro-religious experiences.

The organization of the book revolves around a social historical review of some very interesting literature on Suriname and elsewhere in English, French, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, and German – coupled with seven life histories of *bonuman* that were collected in 1949. In fact, the book has two very distinct parts that do not fit well together.

Chapter I examines the emergence of New World Afro-American religions in general and the particular historical and structural circumstances of Suriname that led to what Van Lier and others argue is an unsyncretized Afro-American religion (*winti*) – that is, an Afro-American religion without (clear) Christian elements. Chapter II reviews the general sociological methodology used by van Lier in collecting life histories of seven folk religious practitioners (*bonuman*). Chapter III profiles the lives of seven *bonuman*.

For Afro-Surinamers ("Creoles") the *bonuman* is at once a prophet who interprets, a priest who officiates, a magician who causes events to happen, a diviner, and a sorcerer. He or she presides over a folk cult religion sharing great similarities with counterparts in the island Caribbean and mainland Afro-America. To name just several of these characteristics, Van Lier mentions a hierarchical pantheon presided over by one god and families of lesser gods; gods with dualistic qualities, neither good nor evil; a concept of a multiple soul; ancestral involvement in the lives of mortals; therapeutic and ensorceling elements; and the central role played by spirit possession.

Chapter I is presented in a mechanical, somewhat tedious fashion and probes the shortcomings of early literature on Afro-religions; which are presented as racist, psycho-pathological, and either

consciously or unwittingly biased. Van Lier calls for more studies of Afro-American religions in their "cultural context"; to go beyond the "psychological" interpretations of the earlier analysis and to plunge into the "structural-historical perspective" that will place these Afro-religions in the context of "global society." He makes special note of the contribution made by Simpson's *Black religions of the New World*. The chapter concludes with a taxonomic discussion of the roles of various Afro-religious adepts; primarily the nature of their duties and the roles they play as diagnosticians, seers, sorcerers and the like in the context of mysticism, worship, crisis resolution, and therapy.

Sandwiched in between these two portions of the chapter, however, is a discussion of the historical background of *winti* cult beliefs in Suriname. Here Van Lier comes close to full boil. As a sociologist and the author of *Frontier society: a social analysis of the history of Surinam* (a 1971 translation of his groundbreaking 1949 book, *Samenleving in een grensgebied*), he provides us with beguiling anecdotes and historical snippets accompanied by rich notes, comments, and bibliography on *winti*. For example, in a section called "The Masters and the Religion of the Slaves," he discusses the complex and contradictory methods of "accommodation" used by the slaves within the parameters of "power" wielded by the masters. Frightened and threatened by cult practices, Europeans nevertheless permitted "devil practices" to take place. Before a nocturnal ceremony, a long bladed "Indian" knife (*iengi nefi*) would be placed on the doorstep of the master's home. He or his family would not leave the domicile until the next morning – when the knife would be removed. Later examples from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries give voice to the profound influence *bonuman's* wielded in the lives of "folk Creoles." Apijaba's sacred balm yard (in the neighborhood where I lived, and heard stories about her in the 1970s) or the burial of "Ta Samweri" (*Father Samuel*) during which the police were called out to "maintain" order during the funeral procession are still part of the living folklore of Paramaribo. The notes, coming from a long and assiduously collected bibliography, are fascinating.

The transition to the second half of the book, the sociological life profiles of seven *bonuman* (four men and three women) is jarring. A few routine pages explain the type of material the author wished to gather; standard social statistics on age, gender, education, social class, family life, and occupation; and more pertinent data on each *bonuman's* initial experience with Afro-religion and their introduction as an adept, as well as on the nature of their spiritual practices. To summa-

size briefly, we find that the average age is sixty years for the women and forty-five years for the men. Six of the *bonuman* are "working class," while one (a woman) is middle-class. Their general pattern of domestic life conforms to traditional Creole patterns of mating and residence; only one (a woman) is married, while each of the others either has had a semi-permanent conjugal arrangement at some time, now lives in such an arrangement, or anticipates it in the future. Five have completed elementary education while two have not. Five are full-time *bonuman* while two practice part-time in addition to working (one as a fisherman, the other as an office clerk). Not surprisingly, all endured a personal crisis – spiritual or physical – that led to their becoming a *bonuman*-adept. Although the exact means varied – spontaneous "mounting" by a *winti* spirit, attendance at a *winti*-cult play, or careful preparation and apprenticeship – six of the seven underwent the *sreka* ceremony in which a permanent and personal *winti* spirit attached itself to them. All are practicing Christians to some degree.

A point made repeatedly (surely one of the most important axes of Caribbean cultural life) is the pervasive dualism that, in this case, threads its way through religious and ecstatic behaviour. Van Lier finds no antagonism among the *bonuman* towards Christianity and no contradiction in their minds about being practicing Christians and *bonuman* at the same time. He sums this attitude up when he reports that, for the adepts, the Christian God is all powerful and created the *winti* spirits. The characteristics and behavior of the *winti* conform roughly to the pantheons of gods, spirits, and ancestors that we find in other African and Afro-American religions. The *winti* themselves were created especially by God for Africans and persons of African descent because of the specific and unique spiritual needs and maladies that may befall them, which are unresponsive to the therapy or treatment of Western, scientific medicine. In Suriname, this afflictive dualism is conveyed through the terms *datra siekie* ("doctor illness," responsive to Western treatment) and *Nengre siekie* ("black man's illness," a spiritual maladiction responsive to the therapy delivered by *bonuman*). Thus, the *winti* tend to their Afro-American flock and are mediated by *bonuman*.

For students of the Caribbean who do not command Dutch this book will go unread. This, however, should not be cause for undue anxiety. Ethnographically, Van Lier's book is outdistanced by Wooding's *Evolving culture* (1981). Theoretically, Mintz and Price's *An anthropological approach to the Afro-American past* (1976) is a sensit-

ive study of "creolization" and the development of New World culture. Van Lier's notes and bibliography, however, make his book important to read, especially for the lesser known material published in Suriname.

Finally, the book is poorly bound and the pages fall out.

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*Evolving culture: a cross-cultural study of Suriname, West Africa and the Caribbean*. CHARLES J. WOODING. Washington: University Press of America 1981. 343 pp. (Cloth US\$ 22.75, Paper US\$ 12.75)

Wooding's pioneering study has a great deal to offer to all who are interested in *winti* or Afro-Surinamese religion. When this book first appeared as a doctoral dissertation (1972), it caused a stir in both professional and non-professional circles. There was no doubt that Wooding had succeeded in bringing the subject into the rapidly expanding field of research on black culture and history. Right from its publication, the book served as an underpinning for ethnic and nationalist consciousness among Suriname Creoles. Academic anthropologists hardly lagged behind in enthusiasm. Price (1973) called it "something of a landmark . . . the first comprehensive book-length

treatment of coastal (non-'Bush Negro') black culture in Suriname in almost forty years." In particular, he singled out the chapter on the tribal provenience of Suriname's slaves as "the best summary yet available." Others concurred in the view that Wooding had offered a detailed ethnographic account of the functioning religious system in a rural district [Para district] which shows an astoundingly rich supernatural world. Wooding's stand in defense of a religion that had been despised for a long time, by colonialists and post-colonialists alike, has rightly been appreciated by both Suriname Creoles and the anthropological community.

In 1972, Wooding's message fell on fertile soil. The intrinsic interest of this Afro-American religion was only one reason for the general acclaim; Wooding's attempt to present an "inside view" that would accept the supernatural agencies in the most literal way was certainly another main cause for the book's popularity. At the time, Castañeda, for instance, had defied conventional anthropology with his accounts of spiritual encounters with supernatural powers. Anthropologists were not only invited to step down from their verandahs and meet the natives at close range, as Malinowski had challenged them to do a half century earlier; they now were asked to share people's struggles with the supernatural as well.

A book that aims at presenting an ethnographic, sociological, and even theological view of the *winti* religion is highly ambitious. Inevitably, that aim has only been partly realized. Many themes were touched upon but not fully worked out. This need not be a cause for regret; it could hardly have been otherwise. Wooding has obviously succeeded in opening new vistas in a field where little had been done since Herskovits' *Suriname Folklore*.

Unfortunately, the book suffers from drawbacks of major proportions. Most of these seem to spring from Wooding's personal involvement, which brings him to treat the messages of spirit mediums as objective data, as proof for anthropological statements, rather than as testimonies of believers, well-suited to bring across the insiders' subjective point of view. The main trouble with Wooding's approach, as Platvoet has pointed out (1982: 72), is that his conversations with supernatural beings are used as evidence in academic debate. Divine utterances are here employed to decide on the relative worth or correctness of views expressed by informants, as material to discriminate between conflicting views. Whatever spirits told Wooding about the West African roots of religion was treated as historically valid information. Wooding the scholar is here betrayed by Wooding the adept. He

seems oblivious to one of the plainest, most time-hallowed anthropological insights – that religious utterances are part of a social world and a social process and should, among other things, be regarded as statements with political import. His unwillingness to consider these dimensions of *winti* religion make this book rather old-fashioned.

But perhaps the reader is compensated for the absence of the social dimension by other gains. An insider might be an excellent guide into the world of religious experiences. Unfortunately, the glimpses into subjective states that are offered are few and far between. The issue of meaning is hardly raised at all, and when it does it crops up rather haphazardly. Some speculative ideas derived from Danquah on the nature of the god Adumankama in West Africa, for example, turn up to elucidate beliefs held in Para district, without much in the way of explanation or comment. Wooding's message seems to amount to the following points: Gods exist; these supernatural beings hail from Africa; *winti* religion, untainted by Christian religion, is a moral force supporting a community of believers. Whether accepted or not, few such truths will do much to help the reader in understanding present-day *winti* religion.

Assurance is given that the gods exist and that they are important for human fate. Spectacular stories about affliction and cure are offered as proof of the importance of the divine. However, why a particular misfortune, happening to a particular patient, is attributed to a specific deity is not made clear. If *winti* religion contains a native philosophy and a set of theories about human nature, disease or illness, destiny and crises, we readers are told so only in the most general or *ad hoc* terms. Wooding claims that the therapeutic value of old-time *winti* religion is high, not only for rural traditionalists but also for town-dwelling migrants. He stresses that many Creoles who have settled in The Netherlands or elsewhere in the world flock to native therapists to find solace for the many troubles besetting them in unfamiliar surroundings. But again, the question of why a specific diagnosis is convincing and ritual treatment effective is not raised, let alone answered. A sceptic inclined to take the "mystic masseur view" that any kind of attention paid to nervous persons at loss in an impersonal world would alleviate their troubles could not be repudiated on the basis of Wooding's material. And this is precisely where a contribution from an insider would have been welcome.

Apart from the emancipatory functions, the book has political ones as well. It supplies statements that may come to acquire the status of dogma in the eyes of the believers. So far, *winti* religion cherished no

dogma. *Winti* religion used to be what certain groups of believers said and did about it. There has always been, and still is, an impressive variety within Afro-Surinamese religion, a variety caused by developments in space and time. By his elaborate ethnographic study, Wooding has codified belief and practice into a system, accepted by many as Holy Writ. Few *winti* adepts have either the expertise or the experience to question Wooding's statements, and the need for information and in particular for unambiguous answers is great. In the Dutch diaspora, authors such as Wooding cater to that demand.

Wishing to follow the dictates of both theology and anthropology, Wooding attempts to steer clear of the many pitfalls awaiting him by staying close to the ethnographic surface. The authority of supreme beings is invoked to make his arguments persuasive. The ideological position adopted tends to freeze discussion, not stimulate it. Moreover, these postures stultify his own attempts at analysis. It is for this reason that I view Wooding's book, despite its merits, as not only old-fashioned but also reactionary.

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*The health revolution in Cuba*. SERGIO DIAZ-BRIQUETS. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983. xvii + 227 pp. (Cloth US\$ 19.95)

After the Second World War, governments of the underdeveloped countries have intensified their efforts to reduce the high mortality of their populations. Although these efforts resulted in some decline in mortality, mortality levels are still quite high in most Third World countries. However, there are a few exceptions. Díaz-Briquets' book on Cuba, for example, suggests that the mortality decline in that country is unequalled by other Third World societies.

The book contains eight chapters and five appendices. In the introduction the author discusses both the theory of demographic transition and his own theoretical point of view. Chapter 2 presents a description of the trend in mortality from the late nineteenth century to the 1980s. The causes of the high mortality level at the end of the nineteenth century are investigated in Chapter 3, while Chapter 4 examines the socio-economic, political, and medical factors that contributed to the mortality decline in the first half of the twentieth century. An analysis of the trends in mortality decline by age-group and by causes of death is presented in Chapter 5. Subsequently, in Chapter 6, this analysis is related to the socio-economic developments dealt with earlier in Chapter 4. While Chapters 1 to 6 focus on mortality trends in the pre-revolutionary period in Cuba, Chapter 7 concerns post-1959 developments. A summary of the book's findings is presented in Chapter 8, while the appendices evaluate the nature and the reliability of the sources used.

The purpose of Díaz-Briquets' study is to analyse the factors that have contributed to the decline in mortality in Cuba during the past hundred years. His central hypothesis states that improvements in public health, which were started in the late nineteenth century, have made an obvious contribution to the decline in mortality in Cuba. To support this claim the author divides the 1898-1980 period into a number of subperiods. For each of these subperiods he tries to establish a link between the trend in mortality and the measures taken to improve public health and sanitation in Cuba. He also takes account of other factors, such as the political and economic developments.

The author's main conclusions may be summarized as follows. A sudden and rapid drop in mortality started in 1898 when the mortality rate amounted to 39.9 per 1000 inhabitants. The decline was so substantial "that by the late 1970s, Cuba had attained the lowest infant mortality rate and the highest life expectancy at birth of all Latin American countries" (Hollerback, Díaz-Briquets and Hill 1984: 14). A few years later the crude death rate and the infant mortality rate had even reached the exceptionally low levels of 5.7 per 1000 inhabitants (in 1980) and 18.5 per 1000 live-births (in 1981) (*ibid.*, 16). Another author in Cuba showed that in 1982 the infant mortality rate even amounted to 17.3 per 1000 and the life expectancy to 73 years.

En 1982, avec un taux de mortalité infantile de 17,3 p. 1000 et une espérance de vie à la naissance de 73 ans, Cuba s'est placé parmi les pays les plus avancés dans le domaine de la santé, tant dans la région latino-américaine que dans le reste du monde [Gutierrez 1984: 383].



The decline in mortality during the first subperiod (1898-1902) following the occupation of Cuba by the United States, is primarily attributed to the sanitary and public health measures taken during that time (pp. 119, 123, 129). To support this claim the author presents an overview of the sanitary reform and demonstrates that declines were recorded in mortality from yellow fever, malaria, etc. From 1902, when Cuba became independent, to 1919, the mortality decline was modest. In spite of the Cuban independence, the United States was granted the right to intervene in Cuban affairs if conditions concerning public health were not met by the Cuban government. So, Cuba was obligated to continue its plan to improve sanitary conditions (pp. 35, 36, 119, 123). The economic expansion of the Cuban economy during this stage facilitated both the improvement of nutrition and the maintenance of public health measures. This led to a reduction of the mortality from tuberculosis (pp. 124, 127). Between 1919 and the 1930s, the decline accelerated again. This resulted from the improvements in nutrition and public health that occurred during 1902-1919 and operated with a time lag (pp. 121, 123, 127). During the 1930s and the early 1940s the decline slowed again; Díaz-Briquets attributes this to the economic crisis of the 1930s, which interrupted sanitary measures and worsened food-intake levels (pp. 122-27). Following the Second World War, the mortality rate started to decline again, primarily because of the breakthrough in medical and chemical technology (pp. 24, 103, 122, 125). The post-1945 decline in mortality accelerated after Fidel Castro came to power in 1959 (pp. 105, 106, 110, 125, 128).

Considering the few underdeveloped countries that have had a substantial decline in mortality over the past hundred years, and trying to explain why the declines have been so rapid, social scientists have often referred to the theory of demographic transition. This theory traces declines in both fertility and mortality to the process of modernization (see, for example, Notestein 1945: 1953). But because of the traditionally poor data on Cuban mortality, it has never been possible – until the appearance of Díaz-Briquets' book – to relate the theory to the Cuban case.

Yet, I have a few reservations which concern the author's reasoning in weighing the relative importance of sanitary measures and economic factors. Consider for example the following paragraph regarding the period 1898-1902: "Since the mortality decline occurred in such a short span of time, we can discard the possibility that other influences, such as economic improvements and better nutrition had a major role" (p.

33). Later, however, the author stresses the influence of the economic growth on the decline in mortality in the same 1898-1902 period: "The military occupation that followed . . . contributed to the early growth of the economy, growth that favored an early mortality decline" (p. 126). The way the author uses the concept of time lag in explaining the influence of developments on mortality decline also raises questions. In discussing the 1902-1919 mortality level, he refers to the economic expansion in Cuba during that period, which, he holds, facilitated investments in public health. He claims that there was a time lag in the effect of this factor. On page 124 he states: "Of course, there was a delay in the influence of such investments on the mortality trend. Their full impact was delayed, in fact, until the 1919-1931 period." This claim seems to contradict his own conclusion that the sanitary measures during 1898-1902 had an immediate effect. Consider the following sentence. "The decline in mortality between 1898 and 1902 can definitively be attributed to the far-ranging sanitary reforms instituted in the country while it was occupied by the United States Army" (p. 123). Concerning the stagnation in mortality decline between 1930 and 1945, the author also assumes a direct link between this trend and the current economic developments. "The deceleration in the rate of mortality decline . . . corresponds to a period of intense economic crisis that began in Cuba *even* before the Great Depression abroad" (p. 124, my emphasis). It is unclear, at least to me, why there was an immediate effect on mortality during 1898-1902 and 1930-1945, while the author introduces the concept of a time lag for the period 1902-1919.

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*The monetary and financial system of the Bahamas: growth, structure and operation.* RAMESH F. RAMSARAN. Mona, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, 1984. xiii + 409 pp. (Paper US\$ 20.00)

This exhaustive work details the financial system of the Bahamas: government monetary and tax policy, the commercial banking system, the insurance industry, and finance and trust companies. Even credit unions are discussed. Concluding chapters analyze Nassau's role in the euro-currency market and its emergence as a tax haven. The book is replete with 115 tables, presenting data to 1979. At times, when the author forays into cumbersome discussions of economic theory, obscure to the neophyte and obvious to the professional, the book becomes tedious. No thunderous conclusions are reached in the book, but it is a rich and well documented case study of an island state seeking to find a profitable niche in the world economy.

As Ramsaran recounts, the major source of the Bahamas' post-war economic upsurge has not risen from any structural transformation in the productive base of the economy, or from the exploitation of a valuable mineral resource, but from the extraordinary expansion of a service industry – tourism. Sun, sea and sand provide, according to quoted studies, 77 percent of the Gross National Product (GNP), while providing employment to about two-thirds of the labor force. The fortuitous isolation of Cuba was matched by an influx of foreign private capital into the incipient tourist sector. The latter was cultivated by offering custom and tax benefits to investors. The practice continues and the government itself devotes considerable resources to the promotion of tourism. For example, the 1979 budget allocated over five times as much money to the Ministry of Tourism as to the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries.

The Bahamian regime has concomitantly strived to make the country an international banking center and tax haven by offering financial concessions to enable potential clients to escape national regulations prevailing elsewhere. Successive Bahamian governments have succeeded in making the Bahamas an important financial center, but it is hard to see any noticeable benefit to the country. International banks have sought merely to use the Bahamas as a base or conduit for their international operations. Local transactions form a negligible proportion of their total business.

Bank branches' role in Nassau is largely bookkeeping, recording the transactions carried out at the banks' home offices in the United States

or Europe, which keep a duplicate set of records and make all decisions with regard to the taking and lending of deposits. "When loans are negotiated, the officers in the head office merely advise the borrowers that the advance will be made from their Nassau office. Similarly, the officers in the head office solicit deposits directly through brokers which are recorded on the Nassau books" (p. 282). No money actually reaches Nassau. By resorting to this kind of bookkeeping, banks are able to generate relatively high rates of return on limited volume. Also, an office in the Bahamas offers the parent bank a means for reducing its tax liability by permitting U.S. source income on offshore transactions and foreign source income to accrue to a Nassau branch.

Ramsaran's conclusion that the Bahamas' role as an international banking and tax haven center offers little economic benefit or cost to the country is persuasive. However, just as tourism has its hidden costs, so does playing host to bankers and tax dodgers. The principal danger is accentuation of unequal development. The glitter of Nassau contrasts with the stagnation of agriculture in rural areas. Perhaps worst is the effect of so much money on politics. The recent revelations about Prime Minister Pindling – who appears to have been spending eight times his salary – suggest that courting fast money is corrupting.

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*Leven en werken van de dichter-musicus J.S. Corsen.* A.M.G. RUTTEN. Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1983. xiv + 340 pp. (Cloth Dfl 57.50)

The nineteenth-century poet and musician, Joseph Sickman Corsen, is gratefully remembered in the Netherlands Antilles for having proven to his incredulous countrymen that Papiamentu, used poetically, can be a thing of beauty. In the many languages in which it was translated "atardi," his evocation of bewildered sadness at the setting of the sun, reveals the simple sensitivity of his poetic perception. In Papiamentu, it taught the people of a small island not to scorn their language.

Fons Rutten poses and then tries to answer an intriguing question in

his readable and well documented book on the life and works of Corsen the musician: why is it that a man who was one of the few professional musicians of his time in Curaçao, who taught piano, conducted, played the organ and composed both folk music and "art music," is remembered chiefly as a poet and is, in fact, scarcely known to have been a musician at all? The author points out that, however versatile an artist may be, he is most likely to be remembered for one of his talents. In Corsen's case it is not unreasonable that this should have been his literary gift, which he used with a greater penchant for innovation than his musical one. Most of his literary output is in Spanish, but it was his poetic use of Papiamentu, long before the local language ceased to be a badge of illiteracy, that has made the most lasting impact.

Still, is what Corsen created in music so much less dramatic and significant that its fading manuscripts deserve the fate of being rescued from irrevocable oblivion only by a long delayed act of posthumous homage and, yes, charity? The answer must be that the music is of equal significance and value to the cultural history of the Netherlands Antilles, even if Corsen should be judged to have been more gifted as a poet than as a composer.

In rescuing the music and restoring the musical dimension to Corsen's fame, Fons Rutten has performed a valuable service to the maintenance and recreation of the cultural heritage of the Netherlands Antilles. In his introduction he remarks apologetically that it would have been better if the book had been written by a native Antillean. Rutten is a Dutch chemist and amateur organist who lived in Curaçao in the 1950s and much later became a musicologist and Corsen's biographer. His deference does him credit but is not necessary. For one thing, no native Antillean biographer had appeared on the scene and if one had, he might well have lacked the sense of balance which Rutten brings to the evaluation of his subject. He neither makes a mockery of Corsen with parochial eulogies, nor does he censure him for having failed to be more than a "petit maître." This is the evaluation that Rutten believes the modest Corsen would have given of himself. It is also the term that Gilbert Chase (1955) uses for Louis Moreau Gottschalk, who was a phenomenon in a much larger setting, preceding Jo Corsen by a generation, but whom as a composer Corsen resembles in his romantic, nineteenth-century Caribbean identity.

It would be unfair, says the author, to compare Corsen's music – and this would primarily apply to his "art music" – to that of famous composers. Yet, this has undoubtedly happened, as it has happened to the music of all other composers to whom the passing of the years has

been unkind. The greater value in the more than two hundred pages of reprinted scores and manuscripts lies in the folk music. Of all the composers who developed the folk idiom of the Netherlands Antilles in the nineteenth century, only Gerrie Palm, Chris Ulder (Corsen's uncle), and Jules Blasini preceded him. It is in this music that Corsen's work was of lasting significance, even if it was not identified with him, but absorbed into the tradition he helped create. An absolute gem among the many attractive pieces is the danza, *La mariposa* ("the butterfly"), which was published in an abbreviated form with lyrics in a 1947 songbook. The original manuscript reveals a perfectly balanced composition that would not be out of place among the best works of Puerto Rico's Juan Morel Campos.

Rutten's book contains summaries for English- and Spanish-speaking readers. In these he omits the more detailed description of the social context in which Corsen functioned as a musician. They do however give all the essential biographical data. Furthermore, the largest part of the book is dedicated to Corsen's music and it knows no language barrier.

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*Ball courts and ceremonial plazas in the West Indies*. RICARDO E. ALEGRIA. New Haven: Department of Anthropology of Yale University, Yale University Publications in Anthropology No. 79, 1983. lx + 185 pp. (Paper US\$ 12.50)

This book is a most welcome contribution to the study of West Indian antiquities. It fills a major gap since little had been readily available or accessible in print on the only kind of structural remains left by the Taino chiefdoms discovered by Columbus in the Greater Antilles. The so-called "bateys" are known to have been ball courts or ceremonial plazas often associated with paved causeways and lined with earth ridges or, more impressively, with rows of dressed stones often bearing

some petroglyphic decorations. That over a hundred sites are known is certainly an indication of the need for a comprehensive study, although only ten or twelve have been studied or investigated in any detail.

The author draws from his long experience of West Indian archaeology and its literature, as well as from his personal acquaintance with many sites, and especially his restoration of the large Capa-Caguana center in Puerto Rico in the 1950s. The wealth of informative data that is now available is presented in a series of topical chapters which, for the sake of clarity (in view of the numerous early descriptions and now obsolete interpretations that are offered as historical background on the best known sites), are followed by a substantial summary which focuses more precisely on the current interpretation and significance of the remains or theories under discussion.

The book opens with a review of the early Spanish documentary evidence, mostly the already well-known accounts by Oviedo and Las Casas; the author was able to add a few other minor references from the all too sparse early chronicles which, despite good descriptions of the game, have left little or nothing on the appearance of the ball courts and on their ceremonial functions.

The detailed survey of individual islands that follows is perhaps the book's major contribution. Past research is described in detail, and most existing maps are included. Too often, unfortunately, the recent history of the sites only serves to reveal the appalling amount of looting and destruction they have suffered. It is to be hoped that Alegría's book will serve to bring public attention to these unique remains, and contribute to their preservation and eventual restoration.

Yet, despite the amount of information provided by the author, a comprehensive study of the ball courts and the game might have included a more detailed study of their many associated features, the so-called "paraphernalia" which is only mentioned too briefly in the text. A typological and, especially, an iconographical study of the stone collars (now substantially associated with the courts in the excavated sites), of the stone balls, elbow-stones, and unique three-pointed stones, not to forget the petroglyphs often reported from the stone lined courts in Puerto Rico (and of which only one is illustrated) might have provided some valuable evidence on the questions of functions and, foremost, origins of the game and its courts in the West Indies.

Indeed, the origin of both the ball game and the courts remains one of the most intriguing culture historical problems in Caribbean archaeology, especially in the context of the presence of the ball game

and courts in Mesoamerica and the American Southwest, as well as the ball game itself throughout most of tropical South America. A detailed survey of the evidence from these three areas serves to reaffirm the author's theory that the game must have had a Mesoamerican origin, but indirectly through the ball-playing Otomac Indians of the middle Orinoco *llanos* – a group unusual for its Mesoamericanlike culture – thence directly to Puerto Rico, bypassing the Lesser Antilles where the game was unknown among the historical Island Caribs. This theory is preferred to the alternative of direct oversea contacts between Puerto Rico and Mesoamerica. The theory certainly suffers from a lack of evidence on Otomac culture history, as well as a failure to consider that the game, without permanent structural ball courts, might have existed in the Lesser Antilles prior to the introduction of the late Island Carib culture. I also feel that there is perhaps no need to overemphasize, as does Alegria, that only complex societies are capable of playing a competitive game and building structural courts. The Antillean achievements are, after all, not unlike those of small-scale Megalithic structures built by many simple early Neolithic societies of the Old World, not to mention the majority of simple tropical forest peoples who, like the Otomac, play the game without any permanent courts.

Alegria's book, nevertheless, remains indispensable to the specialist and the enlightened amateur alike. Printed in Spain, the volume preserves the sober, yet attractive YUPA presentation; it is marred only by a number of typos in the figures and the bibliography.

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*The novels of George Lamming.* SANDRA POUCHET PAQUET. London: Heinemann, 1982. 132 pp. (Paper £ 3.95)

George Lamming (b. Barbados, 1927) is one of the better-known figures of the West Indies. Those who have not read his work can still trip off the titles of *The Pleasures of Exile* (1960) and *In the Castle of My Skin* (1953), the two early books that helped to establish his reputation.



Although the setting of the latter is very palpably the island of Barbados in the 1940s and late 1930s, and although the protagonist G. is closely drawn from the artist's life as a young boy in the place and period suggested by the book, this novel is highly regarded as the classic representation in fiction of West Indian boyhood, and as a carefully shaped account of the trauma of a village which could be any West Indian village in the period of transition between colonial rule and native government. In an early review, Walter Allen linked it with *Huckleberry Finn* as "the essential book of a civilisation."

The genius of C.L.R. James, spiritual father of almost every West Indian intellectual who was young in the 1950s and 1960s, presides over *The Pleasures of Exile*, the writer's non-fictional reflections and pronouncements on West Indian societies, on West Indian letters, and on the emigration/exile of the West Indian artists from the nurturing soil. *The Pleasures of Exile* remains the most valuable record of a journey to the metropolis undertaken by Caliban cherishing great expectations of more "water with berries in't," and of space in which to cultivate the gift "how/ To name the bigger light, and how the less."

Paquet's book recognizes the persistent and central impulses suggested by the books mentioned above. Her study rests on the proposition that throughout Lamming's oeuvre there is a rendering and analysis of the specifics of West Indian experience; and along with this, an ever-widening grasp of the meanings and implications of the colonial experience. There is an initial concern with the social structure, as well as with the set of the social institutions in former colonies, and the effects of these on the psyche of the colonized; and Lamming's novels spread logically to include the workings of an unwholesome history upon the colonizer, even in his own country, long after his magic has been overthrown or judged to be unprofitable by comparisons. Paquet quotes an impressive declaration from *The Pleasures of Exile* in which Lamming, too, finds that he is "tainted with the blood of both," and wills himself to make creative use of his heritage: "For I am a direct descendant of slaves, too near the actual experience to believe that its echoes are over with the reign of emancipation. Moreover, I am a direct descendant of Prospero, worshipping in the same temple of endeavour, using his legacy of language – not to curse our meeting – but to push it further, reminding the descendants of both sides that what's done is done, and can only be seen as the soil from which other gifts, or the same gift endowed with different meanings, may grow towards a future ..." (This was in 1960, and besides ...)

*The Novels of George Lamming* contains an introduction (pp. 1-11),

six chapters in the main section which treat each of Lamming's novels in chronological order (pp. 13-115); a conclusion (pp. 116-22); a useful select bibliography (pp. 123-26); and an index (pp. 127-30) which is not really necessary. The conclusion is given over to a resumé of the main ideas in the introduction, only this time attached more closely to the books covered in the main chapters; in addition, the outline of an argument for recognizing "a clear progression in thematic and artistic method" is presented here. Paquet points to a well co-ordinated continuity in the first four novels with their island settings (though *Of Age and Innocence* and *Season of Adventure* are located in a composite island dubbed "San Cristobal" by its inventor). The two latest novels are not set in the West Indies; *Water With Berries* is located in Prospero's kingdom, and *Natives of My Person* takes places at sea and is peopled with sixteenth-century European characters. But, in spite of differences in setting and in artistic method, Paquet argues, these books are linked to the others as expressions of Lamming's "continuing concern to define the scope of the colonial experience." Finally in the conclusion, Paquet's book comes as close as it ever does to setting Lamming in his West Indian literary context when it points to some areas of similarity between Lamming and his contemporaries such as Derek Walcott, Wilson Harris, Edward Brathwaite and V.S. Naipaul.

Most interpretative criticism using a book-by-book approach to a single author can be tedious when taken in one fairly concentrated reading, but this study suffers a little more from repetitiousness, perhaps because of the specific focus on a political theme ("the colonial experience") and from the critic's apparently uniform approach to the putting together of each essay. (It is tempting to speculate on how the critic's search for a voice involves a discovery of his own variety, and this must happen, but not here, not now.) This reviewer would have preferred to find himself under less constant jamming and invited to think along with an argument threaded more critically through the commentary on individual texts. But the introduction and conclusion warn us that Paquet has made her one choice, which is to walk or push us through the particular texts to be studied.

It is a necessary undertaking. In addition to students, there are readers who have started a Lamming novel and have never, for one reason or another, got to the end of it. Nor should we forget those who might have read them all at least once but have silently decided to pretend that two or three of them were out of print and unavailable. The account of *The Emigrants* (which is set partly on a ship bound for

England, and partly in London, and which contains characters from all the English-speaking islands) has made this reviewer think that there are features in Lamming's novel of exile that call for another look. At the more obvious levels there are comparisons and contrasts with other West Indian works of exile worth pursuing more fully than Paquet's book wants to do. Rhys' *Voyage in the Dark* and Naipaul's *The Mimic Men* suggest themselves at once. And in particular, there would appear to be an important affinity to recognize between Moses in *The Lonely Londoners*, and Lamming's exhausted and reflecting Tornado, who does not yet grasp such imperatives as might lie in his realization that he is not sufficiently nourished by a previously proclaimed sense of the West Indians as a group or community (referred to as "the boys").

Paquet's account of imagery makes one wonder whether *The Emigrants* is not more potent in its expressive aspect than in its themes, as a world of nervous breakdowns, hallucinations, appearances, disappearances, bizarre disguises, and switches of identity, with even the narrative voice falling down trapdoors at times. And stumbling around in all this darkness, without form or point of view, is the writer Collis, the only non-authoritative figure of the artist in Lamming's fiction. (Presumably, in another kind of book, Paquet would have made more of the artist figure in Lamming's writings).

For those who have suffered from the shifting point of view in *Natives of My Person*, or been defeated by its atmosphere of gossip, rumor, secrecy, intrigue, melodrama, and portentousness, Paquet plays a record with the scratches rubbed out. The hearing of all these noises – some essential, some distracting – is a necessary part of the experiencing of the work, and of any attempt to come to terms with its uneven quality, but many will be assisted by Paquet to complete a preparatory reading and satisfy their curiosity about who is who, what happened to whom, when, and what are the main thematic emphases. The reader is provided with serviceable holds upon each of the main characters, and led through a no-nonsense discussion of the role and function of the women, one of the more interesting features of the novel, and one that adds to Lamming's range. Before the topic became popular he wrote on it.

At times, Paquet is too anxious to remind us that the fictional account of a sixteenth-century voyage relates not only to post-colonial societies in Africa and the Caribbean but to modern societies generally. But there isn't any harm in this, and it certainly fails as a deterrent. Which stubborn West Indian or Trinidadian reading *Natives of My Person* can fail to recognize a familiar patriarch in the figure of the

lonely Commandant? Not leveling with his senior colleagues, contemptuous of the crew and manipulating both, growing more and more remote, secretive, and sad in his autumnal, he is released by death at last from his private angst, only to return like the dead sea-hawk in *Natives* of whom Baptiste is impelled to observe: "A terrible explorer . . . the fish are afraid of him alive, and I reckon it's the same now he is dead. Take a look at that, I say. Dead or Alive, he can put an awful fear in little fish."

The explicatory chapters, then, are acceptable because they make the first reading of the novels easier. And it must be noticed to Paquet's credit that her interpretations are never conducted without reference to formal matters such as structure, narrative method, point of view, characterization, and language and style. Nevertheless, one cannot help returning to the thought that the interpretations are more restricted than interpretative essays usually are. For the frequent use of quotes from Lamming's interviews, essays, and lectures to forward the discussion makes it look as if Paquet is committed to producing uncritically what she thinks might have been the author's version. The book's introduction more than hints of such midwifery.

Paquet releases useful biographical material at the end of the introduction, inviting us to see it, however, as helping to account for Lamming's "inevitable" disposition to being politically committed. But the introductory section begins by declaring that commitment forcefully. In the first paragraph, succinct statements are made on the subject matter of the author's work ("The colonial experience is the subject matter of all Lamming's novels to date"); the stature of the novelist, and the developing pattern of his oeuvre ("In each work he explores aspects of this experience with a comprehensiveness and skill that distinguish him as a major political novelist"); and the common base of the novels ("His novels characteristically describe the structure and organisation of society, and the extent to which these shape individual response and action").

A number of matters arising from or related to these key declarations are packed into the introduction. For the most part there is little discussion, contrary notions are not admitted, and outlines of the author's ideas are furnished without comment though, presumably, with approval. The topics covered are: the role of the artist, which is seen as a public task, in Lamming's words, "beyond the creating of so-called works of Art"; Lamming's view of the relation between public and private, societal and individual ("There is no separation of the business of politics and private life. Lamming insists on 'the direct

informing influences from the subsoil of life outside,' and this emphasis organizes and informs the shape of his fiction"); the novelist's attitude to aesthetics ("He makes no distinction between aesthetics and politics"); and Lamming's approximation to "Marxist critical concepts of art as an instrument of social development, and the artist as social enlightener."

It is hard to take all of this dry so. And the generalizations on Lamming's novelistic practice, most of them unexceptionable, are wasted by being used in a static way simply to justify the author. The nearest Paquet comes to rebelling is in a stifled remark on Lamming's identification of the peasant origin of the West Indian novelists as the thing that characterizes them: "Whether Lamming's statement is fair or not it is certainly true of his own art." We are told that "it is not suprising" that Lamming moves "away from the limitations of a known setting" to "the imaginary island of San Cristobal" in the middle novels, and then to "the fictional European kingdoms" in the latest books. But there is no attempt to think about whether or how this affects the impact, especially the sensuous impact, of the novels. On the crucial question of language it is put to us that "what is important about language in Lamming's Caribbean novels is that however stylised, it is historically and linguistically based in the experience he describes." Is this ipso facto a virtue of style? And what about Lamming's non-Caribbean novels if there are such? Does a West Indian writer cease to write in a West Indian language or stop writing West Indian novels when his setting is not the West Indies?

On the staple question of character and action, Paquet seems to be willing to accept a deterministic view: "In his novels, individual human experience is always circumscribed by historical and political circumstance." How individual can individual human experience be, either in life or in fiction, if it is shaped to a large extent, it turns out, by "the structure and organisations of society," or if it "reflects the weight of history on the total society"? And even if all we wanted to do was to prepare for the Exams, is it not necessary to consider what is the effect of such an attitude on the author's selection of characters, and on characterization? But I am not sure we can continue to hide from the discovery of what might be the secret of the pessimism of Lamming's novels, the source of the political failure and catastrophe with which nearly every one of them ends. There must be others who recognize that Lamming is no less depressing about our prospects of a political kingdom than Naipaul is.

One is quarreling with the introduction for raising important issues

uncritically. But more than that, one is arguing that by taking up the perspectives outlined in the introduction, Paquet reduces the novels almost formulaically to their author's non-fictional explanations of his stance, a bad practice with any tale-teller worth listening to.

At the end of *In the Castle of My Skin*, Trumper chastizes the boy G. thus: "There be people who always get hurt 'cause they got all sorts o' ideas 'bout this life except the right ones. An' it ain't their fault. There's a part o' those people which can't sort o' cope with what you call life . . . I know you be one o' those people. This business 'bout a thing be what you make it an' think it is. 'Tis all well an' good for the nursery. It won't do for what we call life.'" Militants and activists like Trumper come to hold the dreaming or artistic faculty in contempt. And people like G., susceptible to undefined entities, incapable of commitment, it seems, to models and creeds, are fascinated by those who have the clarity of a Trumper. But Lamming's dialectical novel rejects neither native of the person. *In the Castle of My Skin*'s celebration of the spontaneity, flexibility and curiosity of boyhood, its freshness and openness, is valuable for itself and, if we like, as a refinement or extension of the political themes. Commenting on the dream-like quality of some of the things talked about on that memorable day by the sea (Chapter 6), Boy Blue had affirmed: "'Tis good to dream . . . but it ain't good to dream all the time. Although what we say at sea wusn't no dreamin', I for one wusn't always dreamin', or if I wus then there is something real in his kind o' dreamin'."

More often than Paquet allows, and always when he is at his best, Lamming's novels take tone and texture from his dreaming faculty. To the extent that her concentration on the author's political themes does not permit her to take the things that go "pop pop pop" in the novels into account, to that extent *The Novels of George Lamming* fails to do justice to a writer who began by wanting to be a poet.

But these arguments have been prompted by elements in Paquet's book that suggest too much has been held back – in my view, not advisedly. As essays on the political dimensions in Lamming's novels, the six main chapters are recommended for their strict, alert, and comprehensive treatment. Paquet's book may be seen as the first solid contribution at the beginning of Lamming studies.

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